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DIVINE SERVICE IN THE OLD KINGDOM

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AN attempt is hereby made to sketch in outline the chief elements of Divine Service as it was in Egypt during the period of the Old Kingdom¹. Our knowledge of the religion of Egypt is yet very fragmentary, particularly of the earlier periods. There are many allusions to rites and ceremonies which we do not yet comprehend. Our picture of Divine Service during the Old Kingdom will, therefore, be fragmentary in places, but it will, it is hoped, serve as an outline in which to fit new fragments of religious knowledge according as they come to us.

Divine Service is taken to mean public forms of worship as distinct from private worship, if such ever existed in ancient Egypt. If our information about early Egypt were more complete, it probably would be found that what we are describing as public or official service was the only kind of service known. In fact the "Church" and state were so intimately connected — so much

¹ The following are some of the less common abbreviations: AAA = *Annals of Anthropology and Archaeology*, Liverpool, 1908 ff.; BAR = Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Vols. 1—5, Chicago, 1906—1907; Bib. Egy. = *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, 1893 ff.; JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1914 ff.; Menant, *Gly. Or.* = Menant, *Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale*, Vols. 1—2, Paris, 1883; Petrie, RT = Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, London, 1900—1901; RT = *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs*, Paris, 1870 ff.; Schaefer, *Kunst* = Schaefer, *Von Ägyptischer Kunst*, Leipzig, 1919; Urk = Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*, Leipzig, 1903; WO = Weill, *Les Origines de L'Égypte Pharaonique*, Paris, 1908.

an unit — that the need of an organized private service was never felt. The only form of private worship that has ever developed among any people may be called "Family Prayer", and as such, it never became very regular or rigid in its form. If Egyptians of the Old Kingdom ever developed a form of "Family Prayer" it has left no impression upon their civilization as we have been able to reconstruct it. The chances are that the mortuary worship of the Old Kingdom is the only form of worship with which early Egyptians were acquainted, and this they considered entirely sufficient for their religious life.




The chief elements that went to make up the official or public Divine Service in the Old Kingdom were gods, temples, altars cult objects, hierarchy, offerings, lustrations, libations, and ritual acts. The nearest approach to a private service is to be seen in the mortuary offices. The material for the reconstruction of Divine Service in the Old Kingdom seems to fall naturally into two parts, that which has to do with mortuary offerings and that which has to do with acts of lustration. But, I think it will become clearer according as we proceed that these mortuary offices were likewise official and public.

There is no need of going into a discussion of the idea of god in the Old Kingdom, nor of outlining the growth of the pantheon. That has been done elsewhere. Suffice it to say that there were many gods, that the pharaohs were worshipped as gods, and that some gods were considered greater than others¹. From the Fifth Dynasty on, however, the kings began to call themselves "Son of Rē", because at Heliopolis Rē had established himself as head of the pantheon, and to serve him there developed a line of priestly attendants. Osiris had already established himself as the head of a pantheon, with his residence at Abydos, and we shall see that the two systems of ritual which grew up at these two centres gradually combined into the official Divine Service of the Old King-

¹ See for details Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, New York, 1907, Chap. I; Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912, Chap. I—V; Mercer, *Growth of Religions and Moral Ideas in Egypt*, Milwaukee and London, 1919, Chap. III; Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten*, Heidelberg, 1920, pp. 354 ff.

dom. There were other minor pantheons, with their own rituals, at other centres, but it was primarily the ritual of the services at Heliopolis and Abydos that finally developed into the elaborate services as we know them in the later part of the Old Kingdom.

Divine Service in the Old Kingdom centred in the tomb and temple. There were the altars, the cult objects; there the priests officiated; there offerings were made; there lustrations were performed and libations offered; and there the various other acts of Divine Service were performed.

Every Egyptian deity had his house, . Great gods possessed several temples (Erman, *Life*, 285). Some temples were named, for example, "The Goddess Abides" (BAR I 134), and some were erected or decorated for specific purposes, thus, Sistrum pillars were found only in the temples of goddesses, and tent-pole pillars only in temples which were erected for the celebration of the Thirtieth-year Jubilees¹. Naville² thinks the earliest form of the temple in the Old Kingdom consisted of a single stone chamber, without ornamental sculptures, containing the false door (probably opposite the entrance) on which were the names of the king and the dedication. There may also have been a vestibule with square pillars. However this may be, the temple was considered the earthly abode of the god, and its interior was supposed to represent a picture of the world. The side of a temple, , represented the supports of heaven, being composed of the sign for staff, in the Old Kingdom, ³. But before the end of the Old Kingdom the temple had developed into a very elaborate affair. Up till 1891, only one temple of the Old Kingdom was found, namely, that of the Sphinx⁴, but since that time several good examples have been laid bare, copied, and published. Of course, these are mortuary temples. None others, such, for example, as that at Karnak, have been found to represent the Old Kingdom.

¹ Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re*, Leipzig, 1910—1913, I, 25.

² Naville, *Bubastis*, London, 1891.

³ Mace, *Tomb of Senebtisi*, New York, 1916, 84; compare the sign for temple in Petrie *History*, I, 8; and Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, I, 22.

⁴ Naville, *Bubastis*, 8.

But the general plan of these temples may be taken as typical of the ordinary temple of the Old Kingdom. One of the best of these plans is to be seen in Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-ke³-re^c* (WDOG 11), Leipzig, 1909, map at the end, or in Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, Leipzig, 1912. Such a temple consisted of a large hall, like the nave of a cathedral, and beyond that the hypostyle hall, corresponding to that part of a cathedral between the nave and choir, but of the same width of the main hall or nave. Then beyond that were the chapels. The whole was in the shape of a parallelogram. In the temple compound were residences of the priests and other officers of the temple, besides store-rooms for the materials of offerings. In these details, temples differed among themselves. Such establishments were primarily religious, and were immune from taxation¹. The earliest sun-temples were obelisk in form. In them Rē^c was the chief object of worship, although other gods, such as Hathor, Rē^c-Harmachis, and Horus were worshipped². Rē^c had many temples, for example, Sep-Rē^c, Šepu-ab-Rē^c, Ast-ab-Rē^c, and some of them were built by the pharaohs and called by their names³. All temples were richly decorated with figures of gods and religious scenes, and in the innermost chapel, or holy of holies, was a shrine, the naos, inside of which was a richly decorated boat containing the figure of the god⁴. These boats occur on the earliest inscriptions⁵, and seem to have been carried in procession on festive occasions⁶. A title borne by a man in the Old Kingdom was "Chief of the Two Holy Boats"⁷, and these ships are usually decorated with the emblem or cult object at the top of the mast. Such cult signs are: a harpoon, a hill, a double axe, crossed arrows, a tree,

¹ Weill, *Les Décrets Royaux*, Paris, 1912, 56.

² Sethe, „Die Heiligtümer des Rē^c im alten Reich“, Z Aeg. 27, 111 ff.





³ Sethe, *op. cit.*


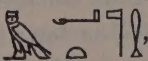



⁴ Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 32.

⁵ Capart, *Primitive Art*, fig. 169.






⁶ Petrie, *History*, I, 65.

⁷ Kristensen, "De Symboliek van de Boot in den Egyptischen Godsdienst", *Verlagen en Mededeelingen der Ak.*, Amsterdam, 1919, 5 Reeks, 4 Deel, 2 Stuk. pp. 254—288, p. 256.

a thunder-bolt, a falcon, an elephant, etc. (AAA V 132). In fact, the boat served as the god's chariot, and he himself or his symbol was always represented in it. These cult objects represented different gods; thus, the thunderbolt, , represented Min (Amon?); the hill, , represented Ha; the  represented any god; the tail , represented any god or divine king. In a similar way the obelisk represented Rē^c. These objects were not worshipped except in so far as they represented a god. Of course, there would be the tendency to mistake the object for the person represented, but, strictly speaking, it is not correct to speak of the cult of the obelisk (Petrie, *History*, I, 70—71), or of fire (*Bib. Egy.* 35, 385—422), or of the staff (RT 25, 184—190). There were other symbols or external manifestations of the deity, such as, the sacred bull (Petrie, *Memphis*, I, 2; de Rogué, *Six Dyn.* 22, 60); the hawk (Quibbel, *Hierakonpolis*, II, 33); the crocodile (Schaefer, *Kunst*, Abb. 27); the ram of Mendes (de Rogué, *Six Dyn.* 22); the *wr*-bird (AAA II 49 ff.); as well as the lion, the scorpion, and the beetle. But, in reality, these were all merely representations of the deity. The only approach to the real worship of anything than a deity or a deified king was the honour paid to the Apis bull. The time came when he really seemed to have received divine worship. But, at first, at any rate, he was merely the external manifestation of the deity.

There were many orders of priests. The pharaoh was the chief priest, but with the multiplication of his duties and the growing complexity of Divine Service throughout the length and breadth of the land, most priestly duties were delegated to others, and there developed a complicated priesthood. In the temples of Rē^c there were five grades of priests: 1) the , or "prophet", nine varieties of which occur; 2) the , or chief "prophet"; 3) the , or "prophet's" deputy; 4) the , or priest; and 5) the , or priest's deputy¹. A similar hierarchy

¹ Sethe, „Die Heiligtümer des Rē^c im alten Reich“, ZAeg. 27, 111 ff.

served the pyramids of the kings, in fact, there were separate priesthoods for separate kings. The head of a definite priesthood was called the  or  or , and each city and god had their own chief or high priest (Urk. I 84, 20; WO 289). The , or *sem*-priest, was originally the high priest of Upuat, but later it was restricted to the high priest of Memphis. This priesthood was sometimes held by important personages, for example, Aba, a *sem*-priest of the Menankh pyramid of Neferkara, bore the title "First after the King" (). But the *hery-heb*-priesthood was held by some of the most famous men of the Old Kingdom. Thus, the Sheikh el Beled, and Pepi-Nakht of the reign of Pepi II were both Lector-priests (JEA 6, 231; Urk. I, 131). Priests bore high civil titles as well as their religious ones. One was called "The Great Chief of Works" (de Rougé, *Six Dyn.* 71). Others were judges, royal secretaries, magistrates, etc. Most noblemen of the Old Kingdom bore priestly titles as well as others. Thus Zau bore no less than seven priestly titles, and his son bore six; Rē^c-hetep, son of Snefreu, bore the title of high priest. In fact, the monarch was *ex officio* superintendent of the prophets. Priestly titles were numerous. There was the S₃-Rē^c (Petrie RT I 37), the *Uty* (Garstang, *Mehâsna*, 19), the *Imy-hnt*, the *Wr-m33*, the *Wnw^t nt ht-ntr*, etc. The professions of priest and prophet were often combined. But among all these different orders of priests the two most prominent were the "prophets" (*lmw-ntr*) and the priests (*we^ceb*). The former were the more important.

High priests were appointed to their office by the king, and it is probable that all candidates for the priesthood had to be circumcised. The ceremony of ordination consisted of ordination, crowning, being conducted to the sanctuary, being embraced and fed by divine attendants. Priests were immune from forced labour, and derived their income from temple estates and from daily and incidental offerings. While the children of a priest usually succeed him (BAR I 219), there is no evidence to show that the priesthood became hereditary until Ptolemaic times.

Priestesses were of two classes: 1) Musicians, who danced, sang, and rattled the sistra, and 2) "Prophetesses", who nearly always


served Hathor or Neith. Priestesses also were often highly placed. For example, the wife of a nome-governor was a priestess of Hathor (Petrie, *Denderah* 47). The *mrt*, or musician-priestess, was especially connected with the *Sed*-festival and appears in company with another musician-priestess called the *s₃dt* (JEA 7, 8). Besides Hathor and Neith, these priestesses served Thoth (JEA 7, 9), the king (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 90), or the sacred bull (de Rougé, *Six Dyn.* 61). The priest's wife was often a priestess (Petrie, *Athribis*, p. 2, col. 2). These priestesses were considered the concubine or wife of the god, in which case they were usually identified with Hathor (JEA 7, 14, 16; Weill, *Déc.* 13). Priestesses were paid a stipend and received donations (JEA 7, 29).

The central act in Egypt's Divine Service took place in the tomb-chamber. When it took place in a temple, it was because the temple represented the tomb-chamber of a god. Egypt's religious interest lay primarily in the power to live again. All Divine Service seemed to have been mortuary. Their conception of the gods was a mortuary one. The gods lived in this world at one time, they died, they were revived, and finally took up their abode in heaven. Likewise the kings, the offspring of the gods, were destined to die, to be revived, and to live in heaven. This was true of every individual. The sun-god, Rē, once lived upon this earth, he died, was revived and went to heaven. His place was taken on earth by the pharaoh, his son. Osiris was killed, revived, and went to heaven. In like manner would not only every pharaoh but also every individual die and be again revived? At a very early time in the development of Egyptian religious thought these ideas gave rise to what became the typical Egyptian Divine Service — mortuary offerings and lustrations.

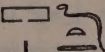
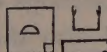
Egyptian Divine Service begins with death. Immediately at death preparations are made for the funeral. The corpse, *h_t*, is first embalmed. This is a religious ceremony of great detail, the ritual being supposed to represent those rites performed at the funeral of Osiris. The officiating priests and assistants impersonated the gods, Anubis, the four Sons of Horus, the Sons of Khentikheti, and Isis and Nephthys. The corpse is taken to the House of Purification, over a stretch of water, a sumptuous repast

is served, then an ox is offered, and finally the embalming process and ceremonies occupy seventy days. One of the most important of the ceremonies was the lustration, when the body was placed in a large jar or pan and two men poured water over it.













Next came the funeral, and that was also a religious ceremony. Accompanied by weeping men and women the coffin, covered with flowers, is placed on a boat-like bier, preceeded by three priests with papyrus-rolls, out of which are recited the lamentations. Then follow the officials and a female lamentator. Behind the bier is another female mourner, together with officers and priests. The corpse is carried over a stretch of water and then placed on a bier with runners, like a sled. On the sled before the bier is a box with the canopic jars and jars of incense, and over all is a baldachini. Behind all is a man robed in the jubileegarments of the king. Some funerals are still more elaborate. Usually the bier is accompanied by an offering-sledge on which are numerous materials for offerings. On arriving at the grave, preparations are made for the greatest of all Egyptian services — the mortuary offering and the service of lustration. Officials are there with their staffs of office, female dancers and singers are there, for it is a joyous occasion. The mourning of the funeral procession gives place to the joy which anticipates the great new birth which is awaited. Loads of material for offerings are brought. A statue of the deceased is ready to be put in its place, and priests are ready to slay the beasts and birds for the offering.












The earliest tombs were usually brick-lined pits, and on a mat laid on the ground on the east side of the tomb was a vase containing the offering. From such a group the *h̄tp*  hieroglyph for offering arose. In these tombs also were deposited certain food offerings for the benefit of the deceased. At a later time stone sarchophagi in the form of a house became common. These were considerably roomy, and contained a niche, before which was placed the *h̄tp*-table. In the niche stood a statue of the deceased. The niche developed into a false-door through which the *ka* or spirit of the deceased came to receive nourish-

ment. When it became customary to paint the interior of these tombs, the deceased was often represented seated before a table (*htp*) containing food and drink. With the passage of time these tombs became more and more elaborate until we come to the period of the great pyramids, which are tombs of the pharaohs. In fact, the great temples of later periods are nothing more than the tombs of the gods and the sacrifices offered therein are merely the mortuary offerings to the gods. Early in the Old Kingdom we meet with royal tombs which have two great stelae placed on the east side and between them was the table of offerings. Such tombs had a *serdâb* (cellar) where the statue of the deceased was kept, and a hole connected the cellar with the tomb so that the incense offered in the tomb-chamber may pass through to the *ka* which inhabited the statue. Soon the tomb-chamber was not considered large enough for the numerous offerings brought, when brick chambers were added around the tomb for that purpose. When the tomb was the burial place of a great man, it was surrounded by the more modest graves of his retainers. But every tomb was built on the same model.

These tombs were called the , or "everlasting house" or the *ka*-temple, , because there the *ka* of the deceased lived. The grave was known by other names, such as, the "house of the vital fluid" (WO 150), "the divine hall" (Capert *Chambre fun.* 13), etc. Now, the oldest mortuary rite of which we have any record was in the form of a banquet (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, Pt. I, pl. XVIII, p. 36), and these offerings are not, therefore, sacrifices in the generally accepted meaning of that term. They were merely means of feeding the *ka* of the deceased in order to maintain and preserve life. Not only was food offered, but also utensils, and even servants were probably killed and buried (Petrie, RT I 14) in order that the deceased may experience no discomfort in his new life. And as time passed, the walls of the tomb-chamber were decorated with pictures of all kinds of food and utensils which the *ka* was supposed to be able to use and enjoy.

The daily mortuary service had its origin in the desire to keep the deceased continually supplied with all the necessities of life.

In these services food and drink were presented, libations were poured out, and incense was burned. At an early date royal decrees established mortuary offerings in perpetuity for the kings (Weill, *Déc. passim*). Endowments were made, often by will, and priests were established to carry on the daily mortuary service. Some of these priesthoods were very powerful. Thus, princes of the Oryx Nome held priesthoods of the house of the *ka* of Pepi. The "prophet", , was the usual mortuary priest. But these were organized into orders, and there were chiefs of the mortuary priests,     , as well as assistant mortuary priests,      . There were also mortuary priestesses (Urk. I, 11 ff., 36).

Mortuary offerings   ,   , were usually called the     , or "an offering which the king gives", because every mortuary gift was supposed to represent the eye of Horus¹ which he sacrificed in his fight with Seth for his father Osiris, and every king was the personification of Horus. When, therefore, the priest presented offerings at the tomb of the deceased he impersonated Horus, and also the king, in his presentation. Therefore every mortuary offering was called a *htp di niswt*, or the "Eye of Horus" (PT, Ut. 54).

These mortuary offerings were numberless and consisted of of almost everything that was good for food as well as of articles of clothing and utensils². The most common consisted of bread, beer, incense and linen. These numerous gifts at numerous tombs demanded the services of numerous priests and their assistants.

Originally the ritual in the tomb-chamber was very simple. After the offerings were brought and put in place the *ka*-priest offered incense, then the offerings were sprinkled with water containing natron to make them pure (PT III 2 c, d), and then began

¹ Mercer, "The 'Eye of Horus' in the Pyramid Texts", JSOR IV, 29—33.

² For lists and literature bearing upon the subject see Wiedemann und Pörtner, *Ägypt. Grabreliefs aus der großherzoglichen Altertümer-Samml. zu Karlsruhe*, Straßburg, 1906.

the ceremony of Opening the Mouth of the Deceased by means of proper implements (PT 30 *a, b*) and accompanied by the use of natron (PT 26 ff.), and the presentation of food and drink (PT 31—40). The mortuary priest then recites the formula "An offering which the king gives, an offering which Anubis gives, thousands of bread, beer, oxen, geese, for the *ka* of NN." Finally, comes the promulgation of immortality by the *wt*-priest (Third to Fourth Dynasty) or by the *hry-hb*-priest (Fourth to Sixth Dynasty). Then follows the censuring and washing as preparation for the banquet, which consisted of many courses. The service is done by the priests and their attendants. After the banquet oils and cosmetics are presented for the guests and the ceremony comes to an end¹. Thus the "Eye of Horus" is eaten and the deceased is supposed to be revived.

We have now followed in outline the mortuary service as it was usually performed in the tomb-chambers of the Old Kingdom. We have seen that it was not a sacrifice in the ordinary accepted sense of the term but a meal at which the *ka* of the deceased partook and was thereby strengthened and sustained. All offerings were thus for the revivification and sustenance of the *ka* of the deceased. When temples were built, as the mortuary homes of the gods, the same service, only on a much more elaborate scale, was performed. These took place occasionally and periodically. Everything was on a larger and more elaborate scale. The *htp*-table became a great altar², and stood in the court before a great obelisk-shaped monument, and beside it was the area for the slaughter of animals. We are given in detail the different steps in the ritual of the seizure and slaying of the ox for Divine Service in such a temple³, and the whole ceremony is performed under the direction of the "Chief of Sacrificers" assisted



by the prophet and priest. The materials offered are numerous the chief being bread, cakes, beer, geese, wine, oxen, birds⁴.

The question of human sacrifice in Egyptian religion has often been raised. Greek and Latin authors were the first to refer to it.

¹ Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, Heidelberg, 1915, 136 ff.

² Borchardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re i*, pp. 14, 43.

³ Klebs, *Reliefs*, 121; Capart, *Primitive Art*, fig. 165.

⁴ See for lists, Capart, *Chambre fun.*, 13 f. and literature noted there.

Modern students have referred to the representation of the pharaoh smiting a person whom he holds by the hair¹, and to the assumption that servants were killed to serve their master in the future world. But beyond that there is no evidence in the inscriptions or pictures of the Old Kingdom. There is nothing to prove that the pharaoh is offering his captive for sacrifice, and, even if it could be proved that servants were put to death to accompany their master in the next world, that would not constitute a sacrifice. In fact, as we have had occasion to see, the whole nature of Egyptian ritual is opposed to any kind of real sacrifice. The offerings made to the *ka* of the deceased were not made as real sacrifices, but purely as food for his daily life. In like manner those made to the gods in their temples were not made with the idea of propitiating them or with the feeling that they were to serve as a means of strengthening the bond between man and his gods, but purely and solely for food to keep the gods alive. At any rate, this is all that can be said for the offering in tomb and temple in the Old Kingdom. There is, therefore, no such custom of human sacrifice to be found among the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom.

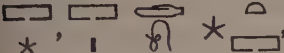
The most elaborate services took place periodically on great festivals, such as New Year's Day, the *Wag* Festival, the Festival of Thoth, and especially the *Sed* Festival which occurred every thirty years (Petrie, RT I 22). The chief feature of the service on these occasions was a procession, and the service itself was connected with some legendary episode in the life of the gods. On such occasions special hymns were sung, the temple was decorated, illuminations were made, incense was offered, the statue of the god was exhibited and carried on a litter in the form of a boat. And on a particularly great occasion the king would appear and dance before the god². This is perhaps the "divine dance" referred to in PT 1189*a*.

Perhaps it was in connection with these mortuary offerings that the custom of pouring libations should be considered. At any rate, libations were supposed to produce the same effect, namely, to restore by sympathetic magic the vital fluids, and hence restore

¹ Menant, *Gly. Or.*, fig. 195; cf. Quibbel, *Hieran.* II p. 40.

² Quibbel, *Hieran.* II 41; Petrie, RT I 22.

life (PT 22—23, 765—766, 868, 2007, 2031, etc.). The material of libations was usually water but milk could also be used and with the same result (PT 734 ff.).

The services so far considered, whether in tomb or temple, have been mortuary in character, their object being to do honour to the dead, whether god, king, or simple subject, by presenting him with an abundance of the necessities of daily life and thus enabling him to live. We now turn to another kind of religious service, [but still mortuary in nature and designed to meet the same need, namely, to revivify and sustain the life of the deceased. This is the service of lustration. This service was originally based upon the ceremonial toilet of the Heliopolitan king which was performed daily at dawn in the so-called House of Morning, , before he entered the Sun-temple to officiate as high priest. The ceremonial toilet of the king was in turn based upon the lustrations which the sun-god was supposed to make each day on rising. In its earliest form this service was comparatively simple. Every day the priest proceeded to the chapel of the deity worshipped, loosened the sealed cord that closed the door, broke the clay seal, drew the bolt, and opened the door revealing the statue of the god. He then offered incense and made prostrations, chanting and saying hymns. Then began the chief episode, namely, the daily toilet of the god. The priest first sprinkled the statue with water from four jugs, clothed it with linen bandages, white, green and red. Then he anointed it with oil, smeared it with green and black rouge, fed it, presented it with its insignia, and the ceremony was over. At each juncture the priest recited a liturgical phrase. By the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty the service became very elaborate (Mariette, *Abydos* i 34—76; *Ber. Mus.* No. 3055). This service is extant in two editions, one representing the service as it was performed at Abydos and the other the service of Karnak. These two liturgies Blackman has thoroughly studied, and placed them side by side in an article published in the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* for 1918—1919, pp. 27—53. It will be realized how elaborate this service was if it be remembered that Blackman shows that

in the Abydos service there were as many as twenty-seven distinct episodes and in the Karnak service twenty-three.

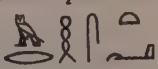
This service which represented the deity or king as being daily reborn and revived seems to have been applied imitatively by the individual worshipper to himself. Just as the king was washed every day, so the deceased would be, and just as the king was incensed and clad and fed, so the deceased would be. The individual's interest in such a service was, it seems, the fact that he expected the same benefits for himself as were conferred upon the deity or pharaoh by these ceremonial lustrations.

In another article, entitled "Egyptian Foretaste of Baptismal Regeneration", which appeared in the first volume of *Theology*, pp. 134—142, Blackman seems to interpret this service as a kind of Baptism. He does this because of the large part which washing with water plays in the ceremony and likewise because of the fact that such lustrations were thought, as he says, by the Egyptians to bring about a state of righteousness. But, of course, a moment's thought will show that "Baptism" would be a misnomer for such a service. Various reasons may be given. First, Baptism is performed only once for the same person. But the pharaoh, as prospective pharaoh was washed in infancy, he was again washed during his coronation ceremony, and again every time before he officiated in a temple he was washed by two priests impersonating Horus and Thoth or Horus and Seth. Furthermore, Baptism is designed to be applicable to all. In this case it is only the pharaoh who is thus washed. Of course, similar lustrations were performed over any deceased person, but they were designed to revivify him, and not necessarily to render him righteous, although all washings, according to the Egyptian way of thinking, were connected with the idea of purity, material and moral. The pharaoh was washed by divine beings before he ascended to heaven, who recited a spell asserting his righteousness (PT 921 a—c, 1141 a—1142 b), but that could hardly be called "Baptism". Lustrations were performed on all religious occasions. Nor can it be said that lustrations *in themselves* had any ethical significance, for it was not the lustration that produced righteousness, although it might have been a symbol thereof. That which produced righteousness

was the performance of the will of the gods¹. The living pharaoh was believed to be reborn each day² like the sun-god through the medium of water, but not necessarily reborn from sin to righteousness. The pharaoh was simply a counterpart of the sun-god, and the ceremony was merely symbolical or imitative³.

The ceremony of circumcision was common in the Old Kingdom⁴, but we do not know what the ritualistic details were, nor do we know whether it was a religious ceremony or no. Elliot Smith is of the opinion that it was regarded by the Egyptians as a preliminary to marriage⁵.

In all religious ceremonies of the Old Kingdom prayers in some form or other were common. The charms of the Pyramid Texts are really prayers; so are the many salutations in mortuary texts. Prayers are numerous for the comfort of the dead, and are addressed to deities or to the deified king. The numerous models of ears and stelas sculptured with ears, as well as the frequent representation on monuments of the attitude of adoration all attest to the prevalence of prayer. But little is known of the form of prayer other than that it usually took the form of a charm or salutation.

From the earliest times music was used in the religious ceremonies of Ancient Egypt⁶. Hathor seems to have been the patron of religious music and sacred dancing, and music and dancing were a notable feature in her cult (JEA 7,14). The instrument usually used was the sistrum — the religious musical instrument *par excellence*. A priest of the Old Kingdom was called  or chief singer (de Rogué, *Six. Dyn.* 90), and one of the titles of the high priestess of Amon was "the Greatest of the Musicians". Many musical instruments are mentioned in the sources of this period, such as the harp, flute lyre, pipe, drum, cymbals, castanets, tambourine, but it is not certain that, with the exception of the

¹ Mercer, "Early Egyptian Morals", JSOR II 3—27.

² PT 698*d*, 1688*b*, 1835*a*.

³ Already in the Old Kingdom Osirian and Solar theories of lustration are found side by side in the same formulae, e. g., PT 1978*c*, *d*, 1979*a*, *b*, 1980*a*, *b*.

⁴ Klebs, *Reliefs*, S. 21, Abb. 10; *Bib. Eg.* 10, 115—118; *ZAeg.* 52, 59.

⁵ *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1912—1913, p. 75.

⁶ Capart, *Primitive Art*, 278*f*.

tambourine or timbrel, they were used very much in religious ceremonies. But on all great religious occasions, when there were processions and an abundance of ritual, music was common, the singers often marking the rythm by clapping their hands.

Very little is known about the posture of the deity in a religious ceremony. As a rule, however, he sits upon a throne¹. The posture of a priest, however, is better known. As a rule he stood with left foot advanced, right arm at the side, and left arm bent at the elbow with a staff grasped in the hand². The worshipper usually stands with both hands raised as high as his face, palms outward³. This is, however not the only posture, although it is the most common. Sometimes the suppliant prays with both hands crossed over the breast⁴, or sits with both hands raised before he face. Sometimes he kneels and makes his offerings⁵.

The characteristic garment of a deity was the folded kilt with a middle piece hanging downward⁶. He wears an artificial beard, or is distinguished by certain animal heads, crowns, and attributes. When the dead king becomes an Osiris he is furnished with various ceremonial garments and royal insignia like the gods (PT 41—49). Some of the priestly orders were distinguished by the special vestments they wore, although, originally, the priest did not dress differently from the ordinary person. The distinguishing garments were ceremonial. The Lector-priest wore long hair and beard, a scarf over the left shoulder, and short skirt⁷. Most other priests were beardless, short-haired, or clean shaven, with simple skirt, although the *Sem*-priest wore a skin fastened round the body by means of a waist-band and sash, the *ka*-priest wore a simple short skirt, and others wore a long wig with clinging tunic⁸. High priests usually wore a long garment and a wig, sometimes the

¹ Petrie, *Denderah*, 48; Menant, *Gly. Or.*, fig. 194.

² Ransom, *New York Historical Society*, Vol. II, 2.

³ Quibbel, *Sagg.* 1907, Pl. XIII.

⁴ Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter*, Berlin, 1920, Pl. 49.

⁵ Schaefer, *Kunst*, Abb. 36.

⁶ Bonnet, *Die äg. Tracht*, Leipzig, 1917, 11.

⁷ Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, II, 34 ff.

⁸ Bissing, *op. cit.* II, 34 ff.

skirt is short¹. Sometimes the high priests wore a badge as a symbol of their office (Mariette, *Mast.* 74, 75). But the most common indication of the priestly office in the earliest period was the leopard-skin and tail². Whenever the priest impersonated a deity, which he often did, he robed as a deity (RT 39, 57).

Ceremonial played a large part in a early Egyptian Divine Service, but the purpose of the service was never lost sight of, because it was so evident. The Service of Mortuary Sacrifice or Mortuary Offering was intended, whether in tomb or in temple, to feed and serve the deceased. The deceased must be kept alive and comfortable. In the case of the deceased individual, he must be kept in good condition in order to undergo successfully his trial before the divine judges, and, in the case of the gods, they must be kept comfortable because of the help expected from them as well as because of a real religious affection for them³. The service of lustration was performed for the individual as well as for the king because of the belief that it was necessary to an admittance to the companionship of the gods. It was a sign and symbol of the condition necessary to an association with the gods. Thus, the pharaoh after death had to be purified in order to enter the abode of Rē^c (PT 1359*b*) or to sail in the boat of Osiris (PT 1201*c*). After the Sixth Dynasty every dead person, in order to attain future happiness, must be identified with Osiris, and the symbol of that identification was purification or lustration (PT 733*c*; 1411*a, b*.)

In summing up what we have learned about Divine Service in the Old Kingdom it must be admitted that its details cannot as yet be followed very minutely. But, on the other hand, its character is doubtless. All Egyptian religious ceremonies of the Old Kingdom were mortuary in character. They were unlike the sacrificial services of Sumeria and Babylonia⁴. The Sumerians and Babylonians, as well as other Semites, lived in this world. Their interests were centred in mundane things. They sacrificed to their gods in order

¹ JEA 6, 226 ff.; PT 1349*b*; Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. XII.

² Fechheimer, *Plastik*, Pls. 14—15; de Rouge, *Six. Dyn.* 92.

³ Compare Blackman, "Righteousness", ERE, 7.

⁴ Mercer, *Divine Service in Ur*, JSOR, V 1—17.

to please them, to propitiate them, to enjoy their company, and to receive their help. The Egyptians ever kept their eyes centred on the future. Their services began with death. As soon as an individual died, elaborate provision was made, by means of mortuary gifts, to keep his *ka* alive, and to furnish it with every means of happiness. That desire expressed itself in the most popular form of Egyptian Divine Service, namely, the Mortuary Sacrifice or Mortuary Offering. In the earlier periods this service took place in tombs, later, to some extent, in temples. In such a service prayer und music, at first, played a small part. The chief acts consisted in the presentation of the numerous gifts. As time went on, however, this service in the temple became very elaborate, and we can easily imagine the pomp and grandeur attending the processions which took place and the elaborate ceremony of killing animals and offering them for the benefit of the deceased. This Mortuary Sacrifice began in simplicity with a few gifts to the departed in his simple grave and reached its grandeur in the numberless offerings brought in procession to the god in his mighty temple. The other service of the Old Kingdom, the Service of Lustration, began with the king in the temple of Rā^c, and only gradually became an universal thing, a service of the masses. This was brought about chiefly by the entrance of the people's god Osiris, into the theology of the Heliopolitan priests.

Thus we have seen that Divine Service in the Old Kingdom expressed itself in two forms, first, that of Mortuary Sacrifices or Mortuary Offerings, and secondly, that of a Service of Lustration. Both lived side by side, the one arising out of popular need, the other having its origin in the palace, and being gradually appropriated by the common people. The Egyptians worshipped the gods primarily because of their hope to be united with them in the future, and not because of any great sense of present need. It is because of this, that their services are so mortuary and other-worldly in nature and character, and it is because of this that it is so hard for us to understand and appreciate the ceremonial detail of these services. Perhaps, when more material of this early period has been brought to light, and when we have learned more of the deeper meanings of ceremonial allusions in

the literature of the Old Kingdom, we shall be in a better position to understand the details and meaning of Divine Service as celebrated among the ancient Egyptians. But, meanwhile, it is hoped that this study will serve to arouse further interest, and to furnish some clue to a possible complete classification of the chief elements of Divine Service in the Old Kingdom.

A PENITENTIAL LITANY FROM ASHUR

By JOHN A. MAYNARD, University of Chicago

THE text VAT 9939 (No. 161 in Ebelings *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*) is a bilingual text written in the late Assyrian period, which recalls in two or three places the second of Zimmerns *Bußpsalmen*. (ASKT 116ff.) The text is fragmentary.

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) ... aš]-ra-ak is-te-ni-[?]
- 2) ... kin-kin-e
- 3) ... -ti-šu aš]-[ra]-ak is-te-ni-³
- 4) ki-zu ... [tab(?) -ba(?)]-ra kin-kin-e
- 5) aš-ru-ka ...³ a-ha-ti iš-te-ni-³
- 6) šàb-mer-a-zu ki-[bi-šù] dè-[ra-a]b-gé-gé
- 7) lib-ka iz-zu a-na aš-ri-šu li-tu-ra
- 8) šàb- fb-a-zu ki-b[i-šù] dè-[ra-ab-gé-g]é
- 9) lib-ka ag-gu a-na aš-ri-šu li-tu-ra
- 10) šàb-fb-s[i(?)]-ga-a-zu ki-bi-šù dè-ra-ab-gé-[gé]
- 11) [ina ug-gat] lib-bi e-kal-ti-ka a-na aš-ri-šu [li-tu-ra]
- 12) [šàb ...]-a-zu [ki]-bi-šù dè-ra-ab-gé-gé
- 13) ... [lib]-bi ... -li-ti ana aš]-[ri-šu li-tu-ra]
- 14) šàb ... ki]-bi-šù dè-ra-ab-[gé-gé]
- 15) [lib-ka ...] a-na [aš]-ri-šu [li-tu-ra]
- 16) ... [bi]-bi-šù dè-ra-ab-[gé-gé]
- 17) ... [lib-k]a ... a-na aš]-[ri-šu li-tu-ra]

-
- Rev. 1) ^d...imin-á imin-á nam-tag-ga-a-[ni tug-ǵa]
 2) [^d...sibit(it)] a-di sibit(it) a-r[a-an-šu pu-ṭu-ru]
 3) [^d...imin-á imin-á] nam-tag-ga-a-ni tug-ǵa
 4) [^d...sibit(it) a-]di sibit(it) a-ra-an-šu pu-ṭu-ru
 5) [en] ^denbi-lu-lu imin-á imin-á nam-tag-ga-a-ni tug-ǵa

- 6) belu ^den-bi-lu-lu sibat(it) a-di sibat(it) a-ra-an-šu pu-ṭu-ru
 7) uku-gal ^dkur-nun-na-an-ki imin-á imin-á nam-tag-ga-a-ni
 tuḡ-ḡa
 8) šar-ra-tum ^dzar-pa-ni-tum sibat(it) a-di sibat(it) a-ra-an-šu
 pu-ṭu-ru
 9) u ^dmu-ze-eb-ba-sà-a imin-á imin-á nam-tag-ga-a-ni tuḡ-ḡa
 10) belu ^dnabu sibat(it) a-di sibat(it) a-ra-an-šu pu-ṭu-ru
 11) nin ^dnin-ka-ur-si-si-ki imin-á imin-á nam-tag-ga-a-ni tuḡ-ḡa
 12) be-el-tu ^dtaš-me-tum sibat(it) a-di sibat(it) a-ra-an-šu pu-ṭu-ru
 13) u dimer di-maḡ imin-á imin-á nam-tag-ga-a-ni tuḡ-ḡa
 14) be-lu ilu-ma da-nu ši-ru sibat(it) a-di sibat(it) a-ra-an-šu
 pu-ṭu-ru
 15) nam-tag-ga-a-ni tuḡ keš-da-ni bur-da
 16) [a]-ra-an-šu pu-ṭu-ur i-ru-su pu-uš-ru
 17) [nam-tag-ga-a-ni] tuḡ ka-tar-zu sil-sil(il)
 18) [a-ra-an-šu pu]-ṭu-ur dà-lí-lí-ka lud-lul
 19) [šàb-zu šàb ama tu]-ud-da-dìm ki-bi-šù dè-ra-ab-gé-gé
 20) [lib-ka kima libbi] um-me a-lit-te a-na aš-ri-šu li-tu-ra
 21/22) [ama tu-ud-da a-a] tu-ud-da-dìm [ki-bi-šù dè-ra-ab]-gé-gé
 23/24) [kima um-me a-li]t-ti a-bi a-lit-tu [ana aš-ri-šu] li-tu-ra

TRANSLATION

- 1) ...seeks thy place
 2/3) ...his... seeks thy place
 4/5) thy place... side, he seeks
 6/7) may thy angry heart return to its place
 8/9) may thy irritated heart return to its place
 10/11) may thy heart dark (?) from anger return to its place
 12/13) may thy ...heart return to its place
 14/15) may thy ...heart return to its place
 16/17) may thy ...heart return to its place

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- Rev. 1/2) O god..., seven times seven, let his sin be forgiven
 3/4) O god..., seven times seven, let his sin be forgiven
 5/6) O Lord Enbilulu, seven times seven, let his sin be forgiven
 7/8) O Queen Kurnunanki (Zarpanitum), seven times etc.
 9/10) O Lord Muzebbasa (Nabu), seven times etc.

- 11/12) O Lady Ninkaurisiki (Tashmetum), seven times etc.
 13/14) O Thou Lord and God, august Judge, seven times etc.
 15/16) Forgive his sin, loosen his curse
 17/18) Forgive his sin that he may worship in thy service
 19/20) May thy heart like a birthgiving mother's heart return to its place
 21/24) Like a birthgiving mother's, like a begetting father's heart, may it return to its place

NOTES

- Rev. 7) *uku* to be restored. Cf. Br. 5918.
 12) note the use of *imin-á* and *sibit(it) adi...*
 14) *pušuru (tuḡ-ga)* is a permansive. This use of the overhanging syllable in the Sumerian verb is common in the late period.
 19 ff.) Zimmern, *Bußsalmen*, p. 35.
 22) *ii-tu-ra*. The text has *tu-tu-ra*, a scribal error.

DAS HETHITISCHE KÖNIGSPAAR *TLABARNAS* UND *TAVANNANNAŠ*

Von FRIEDRICH HROZNÝ, Prague

DIE Besprechung, die Prof. Sommer-Jena in der 12. Nr. des 24. Jhrg. der Orientalistischen Literaturzeitung meiner Schrift „Über die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chathi-Landes. — Hethitische Könige“ (Leipzig, 1920) gewidmet hat, veranlaßt mich, vor allem zu dem ebendort berührten Problem der Existenz des hethitischen Königs *Tabarnaš* Stellung zu nehmen. Bevor ich indes zu diesem Gegenstand übergehe, sei es mir gestattet, der Freude darüber den Ausdruck zu verleihen, daß sich so maßgebende Indogermanisten, wie es eben z. B. F. Sommer selbst und G. Herbig sind, jetzt so unumwunden für den indoeuropäischen Charakter des Hethitischen auszusprechen beginnen. Nach den anfänglichen, zum größten Teil unberechtigten Angriffen, die von der indogermanistischen Seite her, so z. B. von Prof. Sommer gegen meine hethitologischen Werke gerichtet worden sind, ist es für mich eine nicht geringe Genugtuung zu sehen, daß es gerade Prof. Sommer ist, der jetzt l. e. Sp. erklärt, daß er von den Hethitologen derjenige ist, der in der allgemeinen Beurteilung des Hethiterproblems am meisten mit mir übereinstimmt¹. Treten zu den bisherigen Kämpfern für den indoeuropäischen Charakter des Hethitischen (Hrozný, Marstrander, Weber, Holma, Forrer, Böhl) auch noch die Indogermanisten Sommer, Herbig und Debrunner (siehe dessen Schrift „Die Sprache der Hethiter“, Bern, 1921) hinzu, so ist die Frage der sprachlichen Zugehörigkeit des Hethitischen² zu den indoeuropäischen Sprachen wohl endgültig im bejahenden Sinne entschieden. Unter diesen

¹ Auch das Lûische hält Sommer mit mir für eine indoeuropäische Sprache (ib. Sp. IV).

² Der Vorschlag Sommers, das indoeuropäische „Hethitisch“ trotz des Chattischen auch weiterhin aus praktischen Gründen Hethitisch zu nennen, wird wohl allgemeine Zustimmung finden.

Umständen erübrigt es sich wohl für mich, des näheren auf die früheren, jetzt zum größten Teil gegenstandslosen Angriffe der Indogermanisten gegen meine Arbeiten einzugehen. Nur der Hauptvorwurf der Indogermanisten, daß ich nämlich in unmethodischer Weise zuerst meine Grammatik des Hethitischen und erst dann die Grundlage hierzu, die Texte und die Übersetzungen, publiziert habe, will ich hier noch kurz berühren, da es mir aus mehreren Gründen daran liegt, daß gerade dieser Punkt seine Erklärung finde. Gewiß wäre das umgekehrte Verfahren das methodisch richtigere gewesen, leider wurde es mir aber durch eine vis major, durch den Weltkrieg und meinen militärischen Dienst unmöglich gemacht. Ich begann mich mit dem Hethitischen im Jahre 1914 zu beschäftigen und hatte noch im Jahre 1914 die hethitische Grammatik in ihren Grundzügen im Geiste fertig, wußte aber nicht — da die Möglichkeit meines Einrückens sehr nahe lag (sie trat auch im Laufe des Jahres 1915 ein) —, ob ich je dazu kommen werde, sie auch zu publizieren, wenn ich die Reihenfolge Texte — Übersetzung — Grammatik einhalten müßte. Und andererseits war die Entzifferung des Hethitischen und die Feststellung, daß die Chatti-Sprache eine indoeuropäische Sprache ist, eine so weittragende Entdeckung, daß man wohl verstehen wird, daß ich sie nicht für mich allein behalten wollte. Und so kam es — im Einverständnis mit Prof. Weber — zur Veröffentlichung meiner hethitischen Grammatik, meiner „Sprache der Hethiten“ in den Jahren 1916 und 1917. Ich konnte dies um so eher wagen, als ich auf Grund meiner Kenntnis des Materials absolut fest überzeugt war, daß meine Thesen richtig sind und daß der endgültige Erfolg für mich entscheiden wird — was ja auch jetzt tatsächlich einzutreten beginnt. So erklärt sich auch die oft knappe Form meiner Ausführungen, besonders von S. 132 der „Sprache der Hethiter“ (=SH) an; stammen ja die Seiten 132—246 meiner Grammatik, wie auch die ganze Schrift „Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi“ (=HKT), aus meiner Soldatenzeit, als ich nicht wußte, wie sich meine persönlichen Verhältnisse auch nur in der nächsten Zeit gestalten werden. Übrigens ist, soviel ich weiß, durch die schnelle Veröffentlichung meiner Grammatik kein wirklicher Schaden gestiftet worden; im Gegenteil ist mir von meinen Mitarbeitern an dem Boghazköi-Werk

wiederholt versichert worden, daß ihnen mein Buch große Dienste geleistet hat.

Doch genug davon. Viel wichtiger ist es, daß jetzt die Einigkeit zwischen den wenigen Hethitologen hergestellt ist und daß wir von jetzt an wohl auf eine eifrige Mitarbeit der Indogermanisten bei der Erklärung des Hethitischen rechnen können, wie ja auch bereits gerade die hethitologischen Aufsätze Prof. Sommers eine Reihe von sehr wertvollen Feststellungen gebracht haben. Wir, Assyriologen, brauchen die Mitarbeit der Indogermanisten bei der Aufhellung einer so schwierigen Sprache, wie es das Hethitische ist, aufs dringendste, während andererseits auch die Indogermanisten bei derselben Aufgabe unserer Hilfe nicht entraten können. Bei der gemeinsamen Arbeit wird im Interesse der Sache gegenseitige Nachsicht sehr notwendig sein; so wie die Indogermanisten von uns, Assyriologen, nicht eine souveräne Beherrschung der vergleichenden indoeuropäischen Grammatik verlangen können, werden auch wir, Assyriologen, nicht andererseits von ihnen eine genaue Kenntnis der Keilschrift und des Akkadischen billigerweise fordern.

Und nun zu der *Tabarnaš*-Frage. In meiner Schrift „Über die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chatti-Landes. — Hethitische Könige“ (= VSHL), S. 49 f. und 53 stellte ich an die Spitze der hethitischen Könige, soweit sie sicher erreichbar sind, um etwa 1580 v. Chr. einen König *Labarnaš*, mit dem ich auch einen in den Boghazköi-Texten öfters anscheinend vorkommenden König *Tabarnaš* identifizieren zu müssen glaubte. Ich nahm hierbei an, daß der Name dieses Königs mit einem Laut anlautete, der zwischen *t* und *l* stand; ein Name *Tlabarnas* konnte in der Keilschrift bald als *Tabarnaš*, bald als *Labarnaš* erscheinen. In seiner Besprechung meiner Schrift äußert nun Sommer Bedenken, ob es überhaupt einen König *Tabarnaš* gegeben habe. Es existiere vielleicht weder ein König dieses Namens, noch ein hethitisches Wort *tabarna* „Erlass“; möglicherweise sei *tabarna* in allen Fällen bloß eine Königstitulatur. Sollte man aber doch an meiner Ansicht festhalten müssen, daß es einen Hethiterkönig *Tabarnaš* gegeben hat, so ließen sich vielleicht Eigenname und Apellativum *tabarna* vereinigen, wobei Sommer auf *Caesar* und *Augustus* hinweist. Ich glaube nun zeigen zu können, daß an dem König *Tabarnaš* wohl festzuhalten

ist, so daß somit nur die zuletzt angeführte Erklärung Sommers (*tabarna* Eigennamen und Titel) zu Recht bestehen wird, und weiter, daß in ähnlicher Weise, wie der Name *Tabernaš*, auch der seiner Gemahlin später verwendet wurde.

Über alle Zweifel ist der Name und die Existenz des Königs *Labarnaš* erhaben. Siehe Bo 2043, Obv. II. 4 f.: *ḫa-an-t/de-iz-zi-ia-áš-ma-áš-ka'n* ^m*La-ba-ar-na-áš* ^m*Ḫa-[a]t-tu-ši-li-iš* ^{NA¹RU} *Ku-me-iš-ma-ḫa-an pa-ri-an Ū.UL tar-ni-eš-keir* „(als) die ersten aber sie (Akk.) ^m*Labarnaš* (und) ^m*Ḫattušiliš* (über?) den FLUSS *Kumešmaḫaš* hinaus¹ NICHT haben gehen (?) lassen“. In dieser Inschrift *Ḫattušil's* III. wird *Labarnaš* vor *Ḫattušiliš* I. genannt. Die ersten Zeilen (Obv. I. 1—3, richtiger jetzt 1—4) der bekannten von mir HKT S. 9 usf. zum erstenmal übersetzten *Teliḫinuš*-Inschrift sind jetzt mit Hilfe des Duplikats (Bo. 2620, Obv. 1—4 folgendermaßen zu ergänzen:

[UM.MA] *ta-ba-ar-na* ^m*Te-li-b/p[i]-nu* L[UG]AL(?) G[A]L(?)
(....?)

[*ha(?)*-r]u(?)^u ^m*La-ba-ar-na-áš*. LUGAL GAL *e-eš-ta na-pa*
[MA¹RE¹(?)^P]^L ŠŪ

[AḪḪ]E¹(?)^{PL} ŠŪ AME¹LU¹TI¹PL *ga-e-na-áš-še-eš-šá* AME¹LU¹TI¹PL
ḫa-áš-šá-an-na-áš-šá-áš

Ū ZAB^{PL} ŠŪ *ta-ru-up-pa-an-[A/d]e-eš e-še-[i]r(?)*

d. h. [ES FOLGT (DIE REDE)] des *tabarna* ^m*Teliḫinuš*, DES G[ROSS]EN(?) K[ÖNI]GS(?) (...):

[Ein]st(?) ^m*Labarnaš* GROSSKÖNIG war. Alsdann SEINE [SÖHNE?],

SEINE [BRÜD]ER(?) und seine LEUTE Verwandten(?), die LEUTE Würdenträger(?)

UND SEINE KRIEGER versammel[t]en s[i]ch.

Auch die folgenden Zeilen (Obv. I 5—12 = HKT S. 96ff., 4—11) beziehen sich auf *Labarnaš*, auf den (*EGIRŠŪ-ma*) nach Z. 13 *Ḫattušiliš* folgte.

¹ Für die Präposition *pa-ri-ia(-an)* wahrsch. „hinaus“ siehe z. B. KBo. IV. Nr. 3, Obv. I. 19, KBo. V. Nr. 13, Obv. I. 31 und vergleiche auch HKT S. 47, Anm. 6.

Auch in dem Fragment des *Muvattalliš-Alakšanduš*-Vertrages KBo. IV Nr. 5, Obv. I 3 wird m. E. *La-ba[r(?) - na(?) - āš(?)]* erwähnt. *Muvattalliš* gibt diesem Vertrag in herkömmlicher Weise eine historische Einleitung, in der er mit *Labarnaš* zu beginnen scheint; er bezeichnet vielleicht nach dem leider hier ebenfalls schlecht erhaltenen Duplikat Bo. 2079 *Labarnaš* sogar als seinen Vorfahr! *Muvattalliš* bespricht hier die Beziehungen des *Labarnaš* zu den von diesem anscheinend unterjochten Ländern *Arzava* und *Viluša*, worauf er dann auf *Dudduḫalijaš* I. und später auf *Šuppiliumaš* zu sprechen kommt.

Die Gemahlin des Königs *Labarnaš* hieß m. E. *Tavan(n)an(n)aš*. Beachte vor allem die Inschrift Bo. 706, von der ich mir, da sie noch völlig ungerichtet ist, leider nur die folgende Zeile notiert habe: *a-ū la-bar-na-an LUGAL-un SAL Ta-va-na-na-an SAL. LUGAL* „...den *Labarnaš* (ohne Personendeterminativ!), den KÖNIG, (und) *SALTavananaš*, DIE KÖNIGIN.“ Siehe weiter das kleine, anscheinend Opfer für verstorbene Könige und Königinnen behandelnde Fragment Bo. 499, 3 ff.:

A. NA SAL Ta-va-an-na-a[n?]

A. NA mLa-ba-ar-n[a?]

5 *A. NA SAL Kad-du-ši-i*

A. NA mMur-ši-il-lī I UDU

usw.

d. h. FÜR *FRAU Tavanna[nnaš?]*

FÜR *mLabarnaš*

5 FÜR *FRAU Kadduši*

FÜR *mMuršiliš* I SCHAF

usw.

Auch hier wird die *Tavannannaš* wohl die Gemahlin des *Labarnaš* und andererseits die *Kadduši* ... vermutlich die Gemahlin *Muršiliš* I. sein. Vgl. auch z. B. KBo. II. Nr. 15, Obv. II. 6, rev. IV. U.

Wie verhält es sich nun mit dem König *Tabarnaš*? Einen hethitischen König dieses Namens habe ich vor allem auf Grund der VSHL S. 49f. erwähnten akkadisch-hethitischen Bilinguis VAT 13.064 aufgestellt, in deren l. c. S. 50 zitierten akkadischen Unterschrift *ta-ba-ar-na LUGAL GAL* und *LUGAL GAL ta-ba-ar-na*

(in beiden Fällen ohne Personendeterminativ) zur Zeit, als wir in *tabarna* sonst nur ein Wort für „Erlaß“ sahen, unmöglich diese Bedeutung haben konnte, sondern viel eher als der Name des Großkönigs (*LUGAL GAL*), des Autors dieser Inschrift aufzufassen war. Wenn nun Sommer jetzt die Möglichkeit erwägt, daß das *tabarna* dieser Stelle kein Eigennamen, sondern bloß ein Titel ist, so ist dem entgegenzuhalten, daß hier — was S. allerdings nicht wissen konnte — dann die auch von Sommer selbst postulierte Voraussetzung für seine Deutung fehlt, nämlich ein von *tabarna* verschiedener Name des Königs in der Einleitung der Inschrift. Die erste akkadische Zeit der Inschrift (Obv. I. 1) lautet:¹

[um(?) - ma(?)] *t]a-ba-ar-na a-na sa¹be² na-ak-pa-ti ú a-na kap-tu-ti*

d. h.: „[Folgendermaßen(?) (sprach) *t]abarna* zu den Kriegern von Gewicht (d. h. Offizieren?) und zu den Würdenträgern.“

Die entsprechende hethitische Zeile (Obv. II. 1) bietet jetzt nur: *U[M(?) . M]A(?) ta-ba-ar-na pa-r[a(?) - a] . . .*

d. h.: „E[S FOLG]T (?) (DIE REDE) des *tabarnaš* [zu(?) den(?) Vo[r?]-a . . .

Es ist nun gewiß nicht wahrscheinlich, daß diese inhaltlich so bedeutsame und auch so ausführliche Inschrift es — entgegen der sonstigen Übung — verabsäumt hätte den Namen ihres großköniglichen Autors wenigstens in der Einleitung zu nennen.

Hierzu kommt weiter, daß, wo wir im Kontext dieser Inschrift wohl den Namen des Königs erwarten würden, das Wort *la-ba-ar-na-aš* o. ä. (ohne Personendeterminativ) steht, das uns bereits als der Name eines uralten hethitischen Königs bekannt ist (s. oben). Und da der akkadische Text unserer Inschrift an einer Stelle das hethitische *la-ba-ar-na-aš* vielleicht durch *[t]a(?)ba-ar-na* wiedergibt, das ja anscheinend als Name des Königs auch in der Einleitung und in der Unterschrift der Tafel genannt wird, und da ich auch z. B. aus der hethitisch-protoc hattischen Bilinguis Bo. 2030 wußte, daß auch sonst die Wörter *labarnaš* und *tabarna* miteinander abwechseln können, so lag für mich der Gedanke nahe, daß

¹ Das Original dieser Inschrift ist sehr schlecht erhalten und ist außerdem noch nicht gereinigt; ich gebe daher die folgenden Lesungen nur unter Vorbehalt.

² Etwa den „Vo[rgesetzten des Heeres]“ o. ä.?

unsere Inschrift eben von einem König *Tabarnaš* oder *Labarnaš* stammt, dessen Name in Wirklichkeit dann etwa *Tlabarnaš* lauten mußte; das Fehlen des Personendeterminativs bei dem Namen eines so alten Königs brauchte nicht unbedingt aufzufallen (siehe hierzu auch weiter unten). Ich lasse nun die betreffenden Stellen unserer Inschrift folgen.

L. c. Rev. III. und IV. bs.:

Heth.: *LUGAL GAL la-ba-ar-na-aš A.NA^{SAL} Ha-aš-ta-ia-ar me-mi-iš-k[i(?) - i]z(?) - zi(?)*¹

Akkad.: [*LUGAL(?) GAL(?) t]a(?) - ba-ar-na a-na^{SAL} Ha-aš-ta-ia-ar i-ḫab-[bi?]*¹

d. h.: „Der Großkönig *Labarnaš* (akk. [*T(?)abarna*] zu der Frau *Haš-tajar* spricht“¹“

Hier scheint also für das hethitische *labarnaš* im akkadischen Text [*t]a(?) - ba-ar-na* zu stehen; von [*t]a(?)* scheint noch sichtbar.

¹ Die Stelle bestätigt meine bereits MDOg 56, S. 37, Anm. 2 gegebene Gleichung heth. *memai* = „er spricht“. Ähnlich ergibt sich aus unserer Bilinguis z. B. (in Auswahl): heth. *-an* (II. 8) = akkad. *-šú* (I. 8) „ihn“ (siehe SA S. 141 ff.)

„ *c-iḫ-pu-un* (II. 8) = akkad. *aš-bat* (I. 8) „ich nahm“ (siehe SH S. 170 ff.)

„ *na-an-qa-ka[n]* (II. 8) = akkad. *ma . . . -šú* (I. 8) „und . . . ihn“ (s. SH S. 134)

„ *da-a-aš* (II. 10) = akkad. *iḫ-ki* (I. 9) „er nahm“ (s. HKT S. 210 f., 71).

„ *nu* (II. 10) = akkad. *ṣu* (I. 10),

„ *un* (II. 11) = akkad. *ū* (I. 11) „und“,

„ *nu-za* (III. 64) = akkad. *ṣu* (IV. 64),

„ *an-na-áš-šá-áš* (II. 10) = akkad. *ummi-šú* (I. 10) „seiner Mutter“ (s. SHS. 31, 132)

„ *ud-da-a-ar* (II. 12) = akkad. *a-va-a-ti* (I. 12) „Worte“ (s. SH S. 66 ff.),

„ *b[pi-iḫ]-ḫu-un* (II. 31) = akkad. *aḫ-din* (I. 31) „ich gab“ (s. HKT S. 114 f., 30),

„ *az-zi-ik-ki-id-du* (II. 32) = akkad. *li-ku-al* (I. 32) „er möge essen“ (s. SH S. 170),

„ *pa-an-ku-un* (III. 62) Akk.

= akkad. [*na(?) - a]k(?) - pa-tam(?)* (IV. 62) } wahrsch. „Gewicht, Würde,
„ *pa(?) - an-ga-u-i* (III. 63) Dat. } Adel, Honoratioren“ u. ä.
= (*a-na*) *na-ak-pa-a-t[i?]* (IV. 63)

„ *kar-di* Dat. (III. 64) = viell. akkad. *SA(G)* (IV. 64) „Herz“ (vgl. I. cor, gr. καρδία usw.?),

„ *a-pa-a-at* (III. 64) = akkad. *šú-va-a-ti* (IV. 64) „jenes“ (s. SH S. 137 f.),

„ *-um* (III. 66) = akkad. *-an-mi* (IV. 66) „mich“ (s. SH S. 121 ff.),

„ *lê* (III. 66) = akkad. *lâ* (IV. 66) „nicht“ (s. SH S. 184),

„ *ki-iš-šá-an* (III. 67) = akkad. *ki-e-a-am* (IV. 66) „so, also“ (s. SH S. 140, Anm. 3),

„ *t[de-ex-zi]* (III. 69) = akkad. *i-ḫa-ab-bi* (IV. 68) „spricht“ (s. SH S. 2, Anm. 3),

„ *da-ra-an-ni* (III. 67) = akkad. *i-ḫa-ab-bu-ú* (IV. 67) „sie sprechen“,

„ *-a* (III. 68?) = akkad. *ū* (IV. 68) „und“ (s. SH S. 185),

„ *šá-ag-ga-aḫ-ḫi* (III. 70) = akkad. *i-di* (IV. 69) wohl „ich weiß“ usw.

Siehe weiter Rev. III. 50 f. (die akkadische Kolumne IV ist abgebrochen):

[LUGAL(?) GA]L(?) *la-ba-ar-na A.NA* ^m*Mu-ur-ši-i-li MAR.ŠÚ*
[*mal(?) -mi(?) -i*]š-*ki-u-an da-a-iš* usw.

d. h.: „[DER GROSSKÖNIG]IG(?) *Labarna* zu ^m*Muršiliš*, SEINEM SOHNE, hat [gesproch]en(?)“ usw.

Ähnlich heißt es *ibid.* 47 (Kol. IV ist abgebrochen):

[ŠA?] *la(?) -[ba?] -ar(?) -na-áš* LUGAL GAL *ud-da-a-ar-me-it*
*pa-aš-ša-áš-nu-ut-te-en*¹

d. h.: „Meine (-*met*), [DES?] *La[š]arnaš(?)*, DES GROSSKÖNIGS, Worte bewahret!“²

Eine andere wichtige Stelle, die m. E. zeigt, daß es auch einen König, namens *Tabarnaš* gab und daß dieser wohl mit *Labarnaš* identisch war, finde ich Bo. 253 g, Rev. (3) I. 14 (eine leider unvollständig erhaltene *lūli*-Stelle?): . . . *ta-ba-ar-na-an* ^{SAL}*T[a]-va-an-na-an* . . . Der Vergleich mit der oben S. 67 zitierten Stelle aus Bo. 706 legt wohl die Identität der Könige *Labarnaš* und *Tabarnaš*, die anscheinend beide eine Frau, namens *Tavannannaš*, zur Gemahlin hatten, nahe.

Endlich möchte ich noch eine Stelle erwähnen, die ebenfalls in dieser Richtung weist und uns zugleich meines Erachtens die Lösung

¹ Im Folgenden (III. 48, 50) scheint eine Form *pe-aš-ša-áš-du(?) -ma* vorzukommen, die vielleicht 2. Pers. Pl. Praes. Med. sein wird (vgl. Formen wie altind. *ābharadhvam*, g thav. *maśadadūm* usw.). Siehe Weiteres hierzu, wie auch zu den verwandten Formen wie *ēšdummat* K Bo. III. S. 39,9 usw. an anderem Orte, weiter ein *-šemet* vermutlich „euer (neutr.)“ *Kūr-e-še-me-it* „euer(?) LAND“ Z. 50 usw.). Weitere beachtenswerte Formen sind z. B.: *e-ku-uš-ši* (III. 30) „du trinkst“, *ed* (III. 31) „iss“, *ši-i-e-el* (II. 46) „sein“, gr. Sg. des z. B. VAT 13062 öfters vorkommenden Demonstrativpronomens *šaš*, *šan*, *šuš* (Akk. Pl.), *as-ta-áš-ta-áš* (II. 64) „deines Vaters“ usw. Endlich sei hier auch der 16. Rev. III. 49, bezw. 35 vorkommende Satz notiert:

NINDA(?) -an az-za-áš-te-ni va-a-dār-ra e-ku-ut-te-ni, bezw.

nu NINDA-an az-za-áš-te-ni va-a-dār-ra e-ku-va-te-ni, den man mit dem Satze
nu NINDA-an e-is-za-at-te-ni va-a-dār-ra e-ku-ut-te-ni[?] (SH S. 61)

„Nur BROT werdet ihr essen, Wasser ferner werdet ihr trinken“ vergleiche.

² Vgl. auch Obv. II. 30 (heth.): *TUR.TUR* (Oder Rasur?) *la-ba-ar-ni* . . . — Ist vielleicht der Obv. I. 2, bezw. II. 3 (akad. *mar'am am la-ba-ar-na*; hatte . . . *la-ba-ar-na-an*) erwähnte *Labarnaš* ein anderer Sohn des Königs *Tlabarnaš*, der zuerst als dessen Nachfolger anzusehen war?? Der von *Tlabarnaš* zu seinem Nachfolger designierte *Muršiliš* wird übrigens vielleicht nie geherrscht haben; auf *Tlabarnaš* folgte *Ḫattišiliš* I. und auf diesen *Muršiliš* I., der nach K Bo. I. Nr. 6, Obv. 13 wohl ein Enkel *Ḫattušil's* I. war.

des ganzen Problems an die Hand gibt. Es ist dies die keilschriftliche Legende des Sigelabdrucks von K Bo. V. Nr. 7, Obv. Mitte:¹

(...) ² DUB ta-ba-ar-na ^mAr-nu-an-ta LUGAL GAL TUR
^mDu-u[d?]...

DUB ^{SAL}Ta-va-nā-an-na ^{SAL}Aš-mu-ni-kal ^{SAL}LUGAL GAL
T[UR(?).SAL(?)]...

ū(?) TUR.SAL³ ^mDu-ud-ḫa-li-i[a]...

d. h.: (...) ²TAFEL des *Tabarnaš* ^mArmuntas, DES GROSS-
KÖNIGS, SOHNES VON ^mDu[dḫalija(?)] DES GROSS-
KÖNIGS(?)

TAFEL der ^{FRAU}Tavannannaš ^{FRAU}Ašmunikal, DER GROSS-
KÖNIGIN, DER T[OCHTER(?) VON...]

UND(?) TOCHTER³ ^mDudḫalij[a]s....“

Aus dieser Legende möchte ich schließen, daß ähnlich, wie *Ašmunikal* die Gemahlin des *Armuntas* (vgl. dieselbe Inschrift Obv. I, Rev. 46 und 49), auch *Tavannannaš* die Gemahlin des *Tabarnaš* (hier wiederum ohne Personendeterminativ; ähnlich auch *ibid.* Rev. 49) war, und weiter, daß sich nach diesem berühmten Königspaar der alten Zeit, das das kleine hethitische Land so bedeutend vergrößert hatte, die späteren hethitischen Könige als *Tabarnaš* oder *Labarnaš*, die späteren hethitischen Königinnen als *Tavannannaš* bezeichneten. Diese ursprünglichen Namen sind später zu Ehrentiteln und zugleich sozusagen zu einem Programm der hethitischen Könige und Königinnen geworden; jeder spätere König fühlte sich wie ein *Tlabarnaš*, jede Königin wie eine *Tavannannaš*. Es kann daher nicht auffallen, daß das besonders häufig vorkommende *tabarnaš-labarnaš* schließlich ohne Personendeterminativ, und zwar auch dann, wenn es als Eigenname den alten König selbst bezeichnete, verwendet wurde.

¹ Vgl. Winckler in MDOG 35, 29.

² Vor DUB ist noch der Kopf eines vertikalen Keils sichtbar. Kann dieser Keil eventuell an den Schluß der Zeile gehören?

³ Dieses TUR.SAL „Tochter“ ist hier sehr auffällig; man würde hier gemäß *ibid.* Rev. 46 und 49 vielleicht das Ideogramm DUB „Tafel (^mDudḫalij[a]s, DES KÖNIGSSOHNES)“ erwarten. Allerdings ist ein Irrtum des Schreibers auf einem Königssiegel sehr unwahrscheinlich. Und so scheint die Annahme unvermeidlich, daß *Ašmunikal*, die Frau *Armuntas* II., zugleich auch seine Schwester war (E. Winckler l. c.). Der Name *Ašmunikal* ist mit dem Namen der Mondgöttin Ningal, 𒀭𒌆, zusammengesetzt; beachte die Bo. 2068, Obv. I gegebene Schreibung dieses Namens: UM.MA SALAš-mu-ILU NIN.GAL SAL.LUGAL GAL usw.

In der Verwendung als Ehrentitel der hethitischen Könige kommt *Tabarna* in allen jenen Fällen vor, in denen wir es bisher unrichtig als ein Wort für „Erlaß“ aufgefaßt haben; einzelne Belege siehe bei Sommer l. c. Sp. IV. Ich möchte hier besonders die Stelle K Bo. III. Nr. 6, Obv. I. 1. hervorheben: *UM.MA* ^m*Ta-ba-ar-na* ^m*Ha-at-tu-ši-li* *LUGAL GAL* usw. „ES FOLGT (DIE REDE) des ^m*Tabarnaš* ^m*Hattušiliš*, DES GROSSKÖNIGS“ usw. Hier hat ^m*Tabarna* noch das Personendeterminativ! Sehr wichtig ist die Stelle Bo. 2471, Rev. IV. 14 ff. (*Muvattalliš-Alakšanduš*-Vertrag), die uns zeigt, daß nicht nur ^m*Tabarna*, sondern auch ^m*Labarna* — und zwar auch hier mit Personendeterminativ — als Ehrentitel der hethitischen Könige vorkommt, und weiter auch, daß *labarna* nicht etwa die Lesung des bekannten Titels der hethitischen Könige *ILUŠAMŠIŠI* „(MEINE) GOTT SONNE“ (vgl. Sommer l. c. Sp. IV) sein kann, wogegen übrigens auch die Nichtverwendung des Gottesdeterminativs bei *tabarna-labarna* spräche:

...*ku-i-e(m)eš* *LI.IM ILANI^{PL}* *ILUŠAMŠIŠI*

^m*La-ba-ar-na* ^m*NIR.GAL LUGAL GAL tu-u(?) -li(?) -ia* *hal-zi-ik-ḫu-un* usw.

d. h.: „...welche TAUSEND GÖTTER ich, (MEINE) GOTT SONNE,

^m*Labarna* ^m*Muvattalliš*, DER GROSSKÖNIG, insgesamt(?)¹ angerufen habe“ usw.

Muvattalliš bezeichnet sich hier in absteigender Linie als die göttliche Sonne, als der altberühmte König *Labarnaš* und zuletzt als Großkönig.

Mitunter ist es naturgemäß schwer zu entscheiden, ob *t/labarnaš* Eigenname oder Titel ist. So z. B. in der protochaltisch-hethitischen Bilinguis Bo. 2030, Obv. II. 37 ff., wo indes die letztere Auffassung doch vielleicht etwas wahrscheinlicher sein wird als die erstere. Siehe z. B. die Litanei ibid. Obv. II. 40—44:

Protochattisch:

40 *va^a-dš-ḫa-ab-ma eš-vu^u-ur dš-ka-aḫ-ḫi-ir šū-ú-va^a*

41 ^m*Ha-at-tu-uš ti-it-ta-aḫ-zi-la-at šū-ú-va^a*

42 *ta-ba-ar-na ka-a-at-ti ta-mi-va^a-aš*

¹ Eigentlich: „in der Versammlung“? Vgl. für dieses Wort z. B. SH S. 66, HKT S. 111, 34, S. 118, 51 u. ö.

Hethitisch (unmittelbar darauffolgend):

- 43 *ILANI^{PL}. KÚR^{PL}. ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-ir da-a-ir-ma-at* ^{ALU} *Ha-*
at-tu-ši
 44 *šal-li* ^{IS.ŠU.it} *da-a-ir-ma-at nu-za la-ba-ar-na-aš LUGAL-uš...*

Das heißt:

- 43 DIE GÖTTER LÄNDER unterwarfen (?übergaben?), gaben
 ferner sie ^{der STADT} *Hattušaš* (protochattisch: *Hattuš*)
 44 dem großen ^{GERÄT} THRONE(?) gaben ferner sie (d. h. Länder);
 von *labarnaš* der KÖNIG...

Dem protochattischen *tabarna kâtti* entspricht hier das hethitische *labarnaš LUGAL-uš* (vgl. auch den Dativ ibid. Rev. III. 9: *la-ba-ar-na-i LUGAL-i*). Im Folgenden ist dann die Rede davon, daß „wir sie (d. h. die Länder) beherrschen(?) und wir ferner des [*labarnaš*] (so hethitisch; protochattisch: *labarna*) des KÖNIGS HAus ihnen machen“. In Fällen wie VSHL S. 32 f., Z. 6, 11, 12, 21, 23 usw. wird *tabarna(š)* (protochattisch) wohl eher Titel als Eigenname sein. Was das Vorkommen der Schreibungen des Wortes *t/labarnaš* mit *t* oder *l* in den einzelnen Sprachen von Boghazköi betrifft, so sei hierfür auf VSHL S. 49 hingewiesen. Hier mag noch hinzugefügt werden (so eigentümlich es auch klingt) daß es fast den Anschein hat, als ob die Schreiber in den hethitisch geschriebenen Texten in der Einleitung und in der Unterschrift die Schreibung *tabarna*, inmitten des Textes hingegen die Schreibung *labarna* vorzögen. So kommt nach dem einleitenden *UM.MA* bisher — soweit ich sehe — nur die Schreibung *tabarna* vor, während in der Mitte des Textes *labarna* wenigstens bedeutend häufiger zu belegen ist als *tabarna*; in dem hethitischen Teil der Bilinguis des Königs *Tlabarnaš* kommt *tabarna* nur in der Einleitung vor, während im Kontext selbst, soweit der Text erhalten ist, nur *labarna* nachzuweisen ist.

A FOURTH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF ASSYRIOLOGY (YEAR 1921)

By JOHN A. MAYNARD, University of Chicago

THIS article is mainly a survey of books and periodicals dealing with Assyriology, published in 1921, so far as they have come to our knowledge. But since, on account of post-war conditions, a number of European publications reached us too late to be included in the former bibliographical surveys published in this journal, we shall for the sake of completeness include them here. This article should be used in connection with our previous surveys. Numbers 1—364 refer to articles in JSOR 2²⁸⁻⁴⁶, 365—555 to articles in JSOR 4¹⁶⁻²⁸, 556—788 to articles in JSOR 5¹⁸⁻³⁵; 789—951 (in broad type) refer to works mentioned here. Reviews are not numbered. Our classification takes up the following topics: Excavations and history of Assyriology (789—795), Texts (796—803), Related Languages (804—808), Writing and signs (809—810), Syllabaries (811—817), Lexicography (818—824), Sumerian Grammar, (825—826), Akkadian Grammar (827), Geography (828—832), Chronology (833—848), History (849—873), Business Documents (874—878), Law (879—880), Letters (881—884), Civilization (885—890), Names, Myths (891—900), Religion (901—931), Astronomy (932—934), Weights and measures (935—937), Boundary stones (938), Art (939—945), Seals (946), Costume (947), Medicine, Babel and Bible (948—950), Babel and Greece (951).

EXCAVATIONS AND HISTORY OF ASSYRIOLOGY

The fourth volume of F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, was issued in 1920. This volume does not deal with Assyriology itself, except as containing an index to the preceding volumes. (789). Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 1920, has a similar purpose. It reproduces on p. 3—6,

the reliefs of Sarpul (*Die Felsbildnisse der Lullukönige*) (790) Cruveilhier gave an interesting account of the excavations at Susa in *Les principaux résultats des fouilles de Suse*, 1921 (791). In the University Record (of the University of Chicago), VII (1920)²³⁵⁻²⁵⁶, Breasted gave under the title of *The New Past* an account of the preliminary work of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in Egypt and Babylonia (792). J. A. Montgomery wrote a panegyric of Morris Jastrow Jr. in *AJSL* 38, ¹⁻¹¹ (793). G. Bergsträsser described the life and work of F. Peiser in *OLZ*, 24, 1921⁹⁷⁻¹⁰² (794). A note relatively too short in comparison with these was written on J. P. Peters in *AJSL* 38¹⁵⁰ by I. M. Price (795). See also 893.

TEXTS

Schroeder published in 1920 *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* containing the Assyrian law code, lists of gods, letters, business documents, astronomical and geographical tablets. (796). One of these texts had already been published with a slight scribal error by Schroeder himself in *Eine Götterliste für den Schulgebrauch*, *MVAG* 21¹⁷⁵⁻¹⁸¹ (797) and another by Ebeling, in *KAR* 149. S. Smith published *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, part I, 1921. (798) Contenau published *Tablettes Capadociennes*, 1920 (799), which was reviewed by Ehelolf, *OLZ* 24, 1921¹¹⁹⁻¹²¹. A former volume of similar texts by Contenau (*Trente Tablettes Capadociennes*, Cf. 654) was reviewed by Weidner, *OLZ* 24³⁴⁻³⁷. Schroeder's *Altbabylonische Briefe* (*VAS* 16) published in 1917 (800) was reviewed by Landsberger, *OLZ* 24³¹²⁻³¹⁴. Weidner and Figulla edited the first volume of *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghaskoi* (801) which was reviewed by Meissner, *OLZ* 21^{18 ff.} R. P. Dougherty published for the Yale Babylonian series a volume of *Records from Erech*, 1920 (802) which was reviewed by Mercer, (*JSOR* 5⁶¹⁻⁶²) Lutz had edited in 1919 *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts* (803) which were reviewed by Ball, *Journal of Theol. Stud.* 22, 1921⁴⁰⁵⁻⁴⁰⁶, and by Dhorme *RA* 18⁴⁶. Cf. also Scheil *RA* 17^{35 ff.} Other texts which were edited by Clay (853), Edgerton (859), Förtsch (876), Gadd (834), Langdon (811), Leeper (813), Lutz (836), Scheil (814, 815,

872, 877), Schmidtke (866), S. Smith (870), Schroeder (835), and Weidner (842), will be noticed in their proper place in the course of this bibliography.

RELATED LANGUAGES

The Hittite literature has now grown to such an extent that a special bibliography will be necessary. We shall only note here the note on the Sumero-Hittite Vocabulary *VAT 7478 Kol. III 30 ff.* by C. Marstrander, *OLZ* 21¹²⁸ (804). W. F. Albrecht studied *Ein Ägypto-semitisches Wort für Schlangenhaut*, *OLZ* 24⁵⁸⁻⁵⁹, connecting the Egyptian word *sbi* or *sbsbi* with the Assyrian *sabsabu*, (805). W. F. Albright also accepted Luckenbill's view of the etymology and form of the name of Hammurabi (*AJSL*, 37²⁵⁰⁻²⁵³) in a philological note on the *Amorite form of name of Hammurabi*, *AJSL* 38¹⁴⁰⁻¹⁴¹ (806). F. Perles wrote some remarks on Zimmern's book as *Ergänzungen zu den akkadischen Fremdwörtern*, *OLZ* 21⁶⁵⁻⁷² (807). Schroeder described *Reste der Sprache von Hani-galbat*, *OLZ* 21¹⁷⁴⁻¹⁷⁵, (808) showing that they were found in 5 R 20 and 27.

WRITING AND SIGNS

E. Unger wrote on *Babylonisches Schrifttum* in a publication of the Deutsches Museum für Buch und Schrift, 1921 (809). G. Hüsing studied a value of the sign LA as HIR, *OLZ* 21⁷⁶⁻⁷⁸ (810).

SYLLABARIES

Langdon continued his studies on *Assyrian Grammatical Texts*, XIV, RA 18³⁷⁻⁴² (811). The Syllabary edited by Clay in 1915 was studied by Ungnad, *Das Vokabular C*, *ZDMG* 71, 1917¹²¹⁻¹³⁶ (812). A related syllabary in London was edited by Leeper in the first part of the 35th volume of *Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum*, 1918 (813). The Sumero-Hittite Vocabularies which had already been partly studied by Delitzsch and Holma (Cf 34) were at last published in the first volume of the KBo already noticed (Cf 801). In an article on the *Catalogue de la Collection Eugene Tisserant*, RA 18¹⁻³³, (814) Scheil published lists of plants and drugs. He also edited a *Vocabulaire pratique* RA

18⁴⁸⁻⁷⁸, which is a Sumerian list of common objects (815). Schollmeyer wrote *Zur Serie ħarra ħubullu*, OLZ 21¹⁷⁴ (816) and Ungnad on *Die fünfte Tafel der Serie HAR-RA*, correcting some errors of Meissner, OLZ 21²²⁴ (817).

LEXICOGRAPHY

On the topic of Akkadian Lexicography we had an article by P. M. Witzel on *Was bedeutet paršu*, MVAG 21¹⁹⁹⁻²¹² (818), a note showing that in the Assyrian code we find the meaning *huruppati*, *betrothal gifts*, by Jastrow, JAOS 41³¹⁴⁻³¹⁶ (819), four notes by Meissner on *Lexicographisches*, OLZ 21^{171-174, 272-273} (820), a note by Schroeder on *Ṭebetai oder Kanunai*, OLZ 21⁷⁵⁻⁷⁶, showing that the month AB was apparently called Kanunu in Assyria and *Ṭebetu* in Babylonia (821). P. Haupt wrote on Assyri. *birku*, knee, and *karabu*, bless, JBL 39¹⁶³⁻¹⁶⁵ and abundant data on lexicographical science in JBL 39¹⁵²⁻¹⁶³ (822). His disciple Albright derived the name Rebecca from *riqibtu* to cultivate, made her into an earth-goddess JBL 39¹⁶⁵⁻¹⁶⁶ (823) and added much to philology as enriched by metathesis in other *Brief Communications* JBL 39¹⁶⁶⁻¹⁶⁸. Cf also Nr. 805. We may also mention here an article by Deimel, *Zur ältesten Geschichte der sumerischen Schultexte*, *Orientalia*, 1920⁵¹⁻⁵³ (824).

SUMERIAN GRAMMAR

Poebel's *Historical and Grammatical Texts* were reviewed by Foertsch, extensively, in OLZ 21²³⁶⁻²⁴². Poebel wrote *Sumerische Studien*, MVAG, 26, I, 1921 (825) and *Zur zweiten Person Pluralis des Imperativs im Sumerischen*, OLZ 24⁷⁸⁻⁷⁹ (826).

AKKADIAN GRAMMAR

The only item is *Das Verbum in den altassyrischen Gesetzen mit Berücksichtigung von Schrift, Lautlehre und Syntax*, by J. Levy, being the fourth (although the first one published so far) of *Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung* (827). Boson's *Assi-riologia* (Cf 403) was reviewed by Contenau, RA 18⁴⁵.

GEOGRAPHY

We have already noted the geographical tablets edited by Schroeder (Cf. 796) and that have been thoroughly studied by him in the index to that volume, Meissner wrote on Umma, OLZ 21²¹⁹⁻²²⁰, (828) without solving the question of the reading of its supposed ideogram. Peters accepted Kraeling's identification of the tower of Babel with Birs Nimrud, JAOS, 41¹⁵⁷⁻¹⁵⁹ (828 a). Lehmann-Haupt wrote on *Muṣaṣir und der achte Feldzug Sargons II*, MVAG 21¹¹⁹⁻¹⁵¹ (829), an article continued in *Zu Sargons II Feldzug gegen Urartu* 714 v. Chr., Klio, 1918, 15⁴³⁹⁻⁴⁴⁰ (830). In *Kaspisches IV*, OLZ 21⁴³⁻⁴⁸, Husing treated also of geographical matters (831), Sir William Willcocks book *From the garden of Eden to the crossing Jordan* (Cf. 601) was reviewed by S. Reinach, *Rev. Archéol.* 1921¹⁹⁷⁻¹⁹⁸. The geographical section of the naval intelligence division of the British Admiralty published a *Geology of Mesopotamia and its borderlands*, with maps, bibliography, and index (831 a). Lehmann-Haupt wrote *Zur Lage von Magan*, Klio, 17¹¹²⁻¹¹³ (832). See also Nr. 946.

CHRONOLOGY

The list published by Poebel was studied by Ungnad, *Zur altbabylonischen Chronologie*, ZDMG, 71¹⁶²⁻¹⁶⁶ (833). The same scholar took up Clay's data as published in *Misc. Inscr.* 32, 33 and Thureau-Dangin's chronology in *Die Dynastien von Isin, Larsa und Babylon*, ZDMG 74⁴²³⁻⁴²⁸ (833 a). New material was contributed by C. J. Gadd. The early dynasties of Sumer and Akkad, in the first volume of the Eothen series, 1921, where three plates of texts are given (834). From OS IO, a contract in his possession, Schroeder gave *Ein neues Datum aus altbabylonischer Zeit*, OLZ 21⁷⁵ (835). In the *Museum Journal* (of the University of Pennsylvania) Lutz studied the chronology of *the Dynasty of Agade*, giving another fragment of a text published in the preceding number (836). In OLZ 21³¹, Foertsch wrote *Zu OLZ 1917*⁵⁰ taking up the question of a date wrongly transcribed by Barton in UMBS 19, 25 (837). In one of his *Miszellen*, *Orientalia*, 1920⁵⁷⁻⁵⁸, Deimel took up points of Sumerian chronology (838). The *Patesis of the Ur Dynasty*, by Keiser (623) were reviewed by Contenau,

RA 18⁴⁵. In *La première dynastie araméenne de Berosé et les documents contemporains*, RA 79-81, E. Cavaignac showed that Berosus' point of view was that of a Southern Chaldean city. His Arab kings reigned in Southern Babylonia, then hostile to the Cassites. As for the northern region, it knows only Amorite invaders, and only later, the Arameans (839). Lehmann-Haupt studied *Berosos' Chronologie und die keilinschriftlichen Neufunde* in Klio, 16 242-270 (840). He retranslates the Synchronitic History. In an appendix, Klio, 16 270-301, W. del Negro takes up the Kurigalzu problem and gives a comparative table of the Cassite and Assyrian kings (841). A valuable list of eponyms from Ashur was published by Schroeder in KAV. (Cf. 796). It formed the subject of a far reaching study by Weidner on *Die Könige von Assyrien*, MVAG 26, 1921, 2 (842) which should be supplemented by Schroeder *Zu den Königslisten aus Assur*, OLZ 21 41-43 (843) and *Über die Limu-Liste KAV* 21-24, OLZ 24 19-21 (844). Weidner's conclusions were attacked by Lehmann-Haupt in *Berosos' Chronologie und die keilinschriftlichen Neufunde*, Klio 16 178-186 (845) and by Albright, *A revision of early Assyrian and middle Babylonian Chronology*, RA 18 83-94 (846), where Kugler's and Thureau-Dangin's dates are preferred. It was more favorably received by Ungnad, *Zu den assyrischen Königen*, OLZ 24 18 (847). In Klio 17 113-120, Lehmann-Haupt took up *Der Tod of Gyges* as a chronological problem (848).

HISTORY

On prehistoric times, we had *Das babylonische Neolithikum und sein Verhältnis zur historischen Zeit*, by S. Geller, OLZ 21 209-219 (849). The society of Antiquaries of London published an article by Langdon on *Sumerian Origins and Racial Characteristics*, 1920, which presents the view that Sumerian civilization began circa 5000 BC on the Euphrates above the region called later Sumer (850). From Langdon, we also had a most remarkable article on *The early Chronology of Sumer and Egypt and the similarities in their culture*, J. of Egypt. Arch. 7, 1921. It shows that the real beginning of history is 5000 B.C., although the first real historical dynasties are only in 4200 B.C. The Semites, who became the

Akkadians, were South Arabians, who arrived in Akkad before 5000 B. C. and invaded Egypt later (851). These two articles cause us to expect much from Langdon's *History of Sumer* which is shortly to appear. Deimel wrote on *Die Reformtexte Urukagina*, *Orientalia*, 1920³⁻³¹ (852). Clay told us of *A new king of Babylonia*, named Marduk-bel-Zer in a business document which he published in *JAOS* 41³¹³ (853). In a masterly article on *The antiquity of Babylonian civilization*, *JAOS* 41²⁴¹⁻²⁶³, he outlined the latest development of the Amurru (or Mari) theory, argued against Breasted for a lengthening of the dates now commonly accepted, and proposed new arrangements of dynasties (854). Clay's *Empire of the Amorites* was reviewed by Poebel, *OLZ* 21²⁷⁰⁻²⁷². W. F. Albrecht wrote in *OLZ* 24¹⁸ on *Der zweite babylonische Herrscher von Amurru*, who was Ammiditan (855). In a *Note on Dr Peters' notes and suggestions on the early Sumerian Religion and its expression*, *JAOS*, 41¹⁵⁰⁻¹⁵¹, Barton remained doubtful on the identification of Kesh with Kish made by Peters (856). We had from Peiser *Einige Bemerkungen zur altbabylonischen Geschichte*, *MVAG* 21¹⁶⁰⁻¹⁷⁴ (857). Jeremias studied again *Der sogenannte Kedorlaomer Text*, *MVAG* 21⁶⁹⁻⁹⁷ (858). King's *History of Babylon* (89) was reviewed by Meissner, *OLZ* 21⁸⁶⁻⁸⁹. Edgerton published a document showing that we have a Lishanum patesi of Marad, *AJSL* 38¹⁴¹ (859). In the fourth year of Bur-Sin. Meissner transliterated VAS 16, 155 in *Eine Inschrift Samsuilunas*, *OLZ* 24¹⁸⁻¹⁹ (860). Luckenbill translated the *Hittite Treaties and letters* of KBo I in *AJSL* 37¹⁶¹⁻²¹¹ (861). Lehmann-Haupt wrote on *Semiramis und Samuramat*, *Klio* 15²⁴³⁻²⁵⁵ showing that she really was the consort of Samsi-Adad IV, who on her husband's death became regent during the minority of her son Adadnirari (862). He also wrote *Zum Tode Sargons von Assyrien* giving a new translation of K. 4730, already given by Winckler, *AF* I 414; *Klio* 16³⁴⁰⁻³⁴² (863). Ungnad's view of the location of Sennacherib's murder (662a) was criticised by Schmidtke, *Der Ort der Ermordung Sanheribs*, *OLZ* 21¹⁶⁹⁻¹⁷¹ who maintained that the place was Babylon (864). In his turn Lehmann-Haupt declared Schmidtke's theory not proved in *Zur Ermordung Sanheribs*, *OLZ* 21²⁷³ (865). Schmidtke had already expressed his view at length in *Asarhaddons*

Statthalterschaft in Babylonien und seine Thronbesteigung in Assyrien, in *altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen*, pp. 78—138 (866). He gave us there an improved edition of Scheil's prism, a study of 4 R 61, and of several of Harper's letters. B. Meissner took up Harper's letter 336 and others in his study on the history of the Aramean state of Bit-Dakkuri in *Šamaš-ibni von Bit-Dâkûri*, OLZ 21^{220—223} (867). Olmstead continued his studies on Assyro-Babylonian History (Cf. 95, 429, 630) in *Babylonia as an Assyrian dependency* AJSL 37^{212—229} (868) and *Fall and Rise of Babylon*, AJSL 38^{73—96} (869). A new prism of Sennacherib most important for the Aramean nomenclature was edited by S. A. Smith as *The first campaign of Sennacherib*, in the Eothen Series, 1921 (870). The Sennacherib prism formerly edited by King in CT 26 was touched upon by E. Madeja, *Das Ninlil-Tor zu Ninive*, OLZ 21^{165—167} (871). In RA 18^{1—3} (Cf. 814) Scheil published an inscription which is probably from Ašir-bel-niše-šu. Texts on Ashurbanipal were published or republished in CT 35 (Cf. 813). A text much studied before was reedited by Scheil, as *L'inscription votive d'Assurbanipal à Nabu, sur table de pierre calcaire*, RA 18^{95—97} (872). Cf. Streck, *Assurb.* II, 272—275. Meissner studied the meaning of the expression *šabatu pan maške* in Sennach., prism 5, 47 in OLZ 21¹²⁴ (873).

BUSINESS DOCUMENTS

Deimel studied *Die Listen über den Ahnenkult aus der Zeit Lugalandas und Urukaginas*, *Orientalia* 1920^{32—51} (874) and touched on other business documents in *Miszellen*, *Orientalia*, 1920^{54—64} (875). Foertsch edited *Zwei altbabylonische Opferlisten*, MVAG 21^{22—34} (876). Scheil edited as his *Notule* 62, a Sumerian document, RA 18^{98—99} (877). As his *Notule* 61, in RA 18⁹⁷ he translated Nr. 162 of Keiser's *Letters and Contracts*, which gives the name of a new spice(?) *gunnapu*, oil of hemp or haschich (878), Hussey's *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Museum*, published in 1912 and 1915 (Cf. 159) were reviewed by Foertsch, OLZ 1918, 21^{180—185} and Nies' *Ur dynasty Tablets* by Mercer, JSOR, 5^{58—95}. See also Nrs. 859, 853, 937.

LAW

The Assyrian law code edited by Schroeder in the KAV was studied by Scheil, *Recueil de lois Assyriennes*, 1921, (879) which was reviewed by P. Humbert *Rev. de theol. et de Phil.* 1921²³⁵; it was also the subject of an article by Jastrow, *JAOS* 41¹⁻⁵⁹ (880). We have already noticed Levy's contribution to the grammar of the code (827). See also 950.

LETTERS

Various Assyrian letters were published by Schroeder in the KAV. Clay's *Babylonian letters from Erech* (678) were reviewed by Ball, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 22⁴⁰⁵ and by Mercer, *JSOR* 5⁶². Schroeder wrote *Über die Glossen ši-ir(-ma) und mar-ia-nu(-ma)*, *OLZ* 21¹²⁵⁻¹²⁷ (881). In *Ein mündlich zu bestellender altbabylonischer Brief*, *OLZ* 21⁵⁻⁶, he showed that VAS 16, 7 was a memorandum of three different short messages (882). Ungnad found *Ein merkwürdiges sumerisches Lehnwort* (in a letter from Bismiya edited by Luckenbill, *AJSL* 32²⁸¹), *OLZ* 21¹¹⁵⁻¹¹⁶ (883). This word is *unmeduku, u-ne-dug*. Ungnad translated also Nr. 140 of Lutz' *Early Babylonian letters from Larsa* as *Eine altbabylonische Kriegsdepesche*, *OLZ* 24⁷¹⁻⁷² (884). See also Nrs. 866 and 867 for articles on Harper's letters and 861 for the Hittite letters.

CIVILIZATION (See also under ART)

The outstanding work is Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920, which is the third volume of the *Kulturgeschichte Bibliothek* (885). It is well illustrated and complete. Review by Langdon, *Man*, 1921⁹³⁻⁹⁶. A. Schneider wrote a book on *Die sumerische Tempelstadt*, 1920 (886). Review by Luckenbill, *AJSL* 38¹⁵¹. Schwenzner's articles on the prices of commodities in Babylonia (462, 653, 658, 691) were continued in the fifth and sixth of his *Beiträge zur babylonischen Wirtschafts-Geschichte*, namely *Zur Entwicklung der Getreide- und Dattelpreise*, *OLZ* 24²¹⁻²⁵ (887) and *Eine Lohnaufbesserung unter den ersten Perserkönigen*, *OLZ* 24⁷⁹⁻⁸⁸ (888) which also deals with the price of dates and wheat. Christian wrote on *Über einige babylonische Ackerbau- und Bewässerungsgeräte*,

OLZ 24⁷⁴⁻⁷⁷ (889). Schroeder's article *Über die ältesten Münzen*, OLZ 21²⁷⁶⁻²⁷⁹ (890) takes up CT 26, VII, 16-19 and other cases (Cf. 684).

NAMES

Chiera's List of Sumerian personal names was reviewed by Ball, *Fourn. of Theol. Studies*, 22⁴⁰⁶⁻⁴⁰⁷ and by Dhorme, RA 184⁸.

MYTHS

Langdon's *Sumerian Epic of Paradise* (242) was sharply criticised by Ungnad, ZDMG 71²⁵²⁻²⁵⁶ and was also made the subject of a rather impossible article by W. W. Martin, *Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the flood, and the fall of Man*, Methodist Review 1916⁶⁴⁰⁻⁶⁵³ (891). The later edition — or *Poème Sumérien* (472) — was reviewed by Sayce, JRAS 1921²⁹⁵⁻²⁹⁸. Witzel's *Drachenkämpfer Nibib* (694) was reviewed by Pancritius, OLZ 24⁸⁸⁻⁹² and Deimel *Biblica*, 2⁴⁶¹⁻⁴⁷². Deimel also touched on it in his interpretation of a seal in *Miszellen Orientalia*, 1920⁵³ (892). A popular account of *The Babylonian story of the deluge and the Epic of Gilgamesh with an account of the Royal Libraries of Nineveh* was written by Budge for the use of visitors to the British Museum, 1920 (893). Geller's pamphlet on the epic Lugal-e (Cf. 241) was reviewed by Schroeder, OLZ 21¹⁸⁵⁻¹⁸⁶. Ungnad showed how Rm 272 (Meek, BA 10, 1) belongs to the first tablet of Lugal-e, in his article on *Nabu und Ninurta*, OLZ 21¹⁶⁷⁻¹⁶⁸ (894). Luckenbill studied *The Ashur version of the seven tablets of Creation*, AJSL 38¹²⁻³⁵ (895). He translated the first and sixth tablets as their text has been made more complete by Ebeling's KAR. He also gave a new translation of Barton's Creation Text which had also been reedited by Langdon in *Le poème Sumérien*. Zimmern improved also the rendering of a passage of the Creation poem in *Marduks (Ellils Aššurs) Geburt im babylonischen Weltschöpfungsepos*, MVAG 21²¹³⁻²²⁵ (896). Langdon's new fragment of the Epic of Gilgamesh (Cf. 231) was emended and enlarged by Jastrow and Clay, *An old Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh Epic*, Yale Or. Ser. Research. IV, 3, 1920 (897) with a publication of the new text by Clay. Cf. a review by Jensen, OLZ 21²⁶⁸⁻²⁷⁰, where corrections

to Clay are offered. T. Bauer wrote *Bemerkungen zur IV. Tafel des Gilgamesh-Epos*, OLZ 24⁷²⁻⁷², based on KAR 115 (898). Luckenbill criticised Gressmann's translation of Gilg. X, II, 15 ff. in his Shut-abni, AJSL 38⁹⁷⁻¹⁰² (899) K. v. Spiesz touches on Babylonian mythology in *Der Brunnen der ewigen Jugend* MVAG 22³³⁵⁻³³⁶ (900).

RELIGION

Peter's article entitled *Notes and suggestions on the early Sumerian Religion and its expression*, JAOS 41¹³¹⁻¹⁴⁹ (9, 10) offers some interesting suggestions but its value is very much curtailed by the author's dependence on faulty translations. Ungnad wrote a popular book, *Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrier*, 1921 (902). *Der Gottesberg* by J. Jeremias (Cf. 723) was reviewed by Pancritius, OLZ 24²⁷⁻³². Landersdorfer studied in a Syriac poem of Jacob, Bishop of Batna, *Das assyrisch-babylonische Pantheon im vierten Jahrh. n. Chr.*, MVAG 21¹⁰⁹⁻¹¹⁸ (904). Schroeder wrote on ^daga-šu-ul, ^dme-šu-ul, ^dme-iz-zu-ul-la-aš, OLZ 24, 70 ff. (905). Cf. also his article listed under 797. In one of his *Miszellen*, *Orientalia* 1920⁵², Deimel wrote on Nin-Urra of Umma (906). Plessis made a complete study of the worship of Ishtar in his *Étude sur les textes concernant Ištar-Astarte*, 1921 (907). In JBL 39¹⁴³⁻¹⁵¹, Albright took up *The supposed Babylonian Derivation of the Logos* (908). It rejects Langdon's theory but brings in another on a kind of double called *giš-zar*. Paffrath studied *Der Titel Sohn der Gottheit*, MVAG 21¹⁵⁷⁻¹⁵⁹ (909) and the rite of adoption of kings by goddesses. Deimel wrote on *Die Rangordnung unter den Tempelverwaltern in Lagash zur Zeit der Könige von Ur*, MVAG 21²²⁶⁻²³² (910). In *Notule* 63, RA 18¹⁰⁰, on the text published by Legrain, Mus. Journ. Dec. 1920, March 1921, he showed that Sargon was *kašudu* of the defunct king Ur-Zamama and described that office (911). We had a brief note by Price in JAOS 41¹⁹²⁻¹⁹³ (912) on *The functions of the officers in the temple of Ningirsu*. Meissner wrote on *Beamte als Stifter von Götterstatuen*, MVAG 21¹⁵²⁻¹⁵⁶ (913).

Boissier's article on *Esabad*, RA 18⁴³ dealt with the sanctuary of Gula in the light of the new KAV texts (914). Albright in

The Babylonian Temple tower and the altar of burnt offering, JBL 39¹³⁷⁻¹⁴² (915) shows how the mountain of the gods and the mountain of the shades, being both in the North became confused, and so were the temple tower and the altar. In *Altorientalische Kultgeräte*, MVAG 1918³⁷⁰⁻³⁹², O. Weber studied the religious significance of reliefs, boundary stones and seals (916).

Mercer studied *Divine Service in Ur*, JSOR 5¹⁻¹⁷ (917). In *Der Gottesbrief als Form assyrischer Kriegsberichterstattung*, Ungnad treated of Langdon's Babylonian Liturgies Nr. 169, O LZ 21⁷²⁻⁷⁶ (918). In *Festlied zum Einzug des Königs in Eanna*, MVAG 21^{98ff.}, Kinscherf translated the Sumerian Liturgy VAS 10, 200-208 (919). In *Sumerische Handerhebungsgebete*, O LZ 21¹¹⁵⁻¹¹⁶, Ungnad put together K 2529 and 3276 (920) as a catalogue of hymns. Langdon's *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*, 1919 (Cf. 703) were reviewed by Dhorme RA 18⁴⁶⁻⁴⁸ and Ball JTS 22⁴⁰⁷.

In *Zu den Übersetzungen Ebeling* ZDMG 74, 175 ff. (Cf. 715) in ZDMG 74⁴³⁹⁻⁴⁴⁵ Landsberger rectified Ebeling's translations of KAR 71, 74, 73, 56 (921). Ebeling translated KAR 64 in *Babylonische Beschwörung gegen Belästigung durch Hunde*, MVAG 21¹⁷⁻²¹ (922). In *Magische Hunde*, ZDMG 73¹⁷⁶⁻¹⁸² Meissner worked out KAR 54, 26, 64, 62 (923). In his article on *Korset och Labarum*, Le Monde Oriental, 9¹¹⁵⁻¹⁵¹ (outline in French on p. 149-151). Sven Lönborg studied several scenes in Babylonian reliefs to support his theory that the cross goes back to a wheel (924). In *Nazoräer* (Nazarener), ZDMG 74⁴²⁹⁻⁴³⁸, Zimmern dealt with Babylonian gnosis (925). Thureau-Dangin's *Rituels akkadiens*, 1621, takes up the ritual of the kalu (Cf. 454), the daily ritual of Anu in Uruk, and new-year rituals (926). There are references to religion in the article *Salutations*, by Barton, ERE 11¹⁰⁴⁻¹⁰⁸ (927). Langdon wrote on *Sin*, ERE 11⁵³¹⁻⁵³³ (928) and Pinches on *Salvation*, ERE 11¹⁰⁹⁻¹¹⁰ (929). Rogers treated of the *State of the dead*, ERE 11⁸²⁸⁻⁸²⁹ (930). In *Spiritism and the cult of the dead in antiquity*, 1921, Paton wrote on Spiritism in Babylonia and Assyria (p. 211-231) and on Babylonian influence on the Hebrew conception of the dead (p. 240-247). Although the writer brought up nothing new, his very careful treatment of the activity, abode, deification of the dead, offerings to the dead, exorcism, necromancy,

and drugs is most valuable (931). See also on Religion Nrs. 852, 874, 876.

ASTRONOMY

Ungnad wrote *Bemerkungen zur babylonischen Himmelskunde*, ZDMG 73¹⁵⁹⁻¹⁷⁵ (932). In *Zur babylonischen Astronomie*, MVAG 1918³⁴⁶⁻³⁵⁶, Lindl took up the "Astrolabe" studied by Pinches, Kugler, and Weidner (933). Ginzel studied *Die Wassermessungen der Babylonier und das Sexagesimalsystem*, Klio 16²³⁴⁻²⁴¹ (934).

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

In *Die babylonische Zeiteinheit von 216 Minuten*, Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie 51¹⁰¹⁻¹³¹, Lehmann-Haupt translated a new CT 24, 45, 46-47 and showed that the little uddazalu was 216 minutes and the larger 14 hours 24 minutes (935). Unger's Catalogue of weights from the Ottoman Museum (Cf. 761) was the subject of an article by Lehmann-Haupt, *Zur Metrologie*, Klio 15⁴⁴¹⁻⁴⁴⁵ (936). The same wrote on *Die Mine des Königs und die Mine (des Landes)*, Klio 14³⁷⁰⁻³⁷⁶ (937) a study of the business document K 816.

BOUNDARY STONES

On King's Boundary stone 37, Meissner wrote *Eine babylonische Stele Assurbanipals(?)*, OLZ 21¹¹⁹⁻¹²³ (938). See also 916.

ART

Unger wrote *Zu den Reliefs und Inschriften von Balawat*, MVAG 21¹⁸²⁻¹⁹⁰ (939) and Lehmann-Haupt expressed a different view in *Die Bronzetore von Balawat und der Tigristunnel*, Klio 16¹⁹⁶⁻¹⁹⁹ (940). Schroeder reviewed Unger's *Stele des Bel-Harran-beli-uššur* (Cf. 773) in OLZ 21¹³³⁻¹³⁴ and Unger's *Die Reliefs Tiglatpilesars III* (Cf. 774) in OLZ 21²⁸²⁻²⁸³. In *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen* 36⁷³⁻⁸⁰, Weber studied *Ein Steinbild mit dem Namen des Königs Lugalkisalsi von Erech und Ur*, with three illustrations (941).

Dombart's book *Der Sakralturm*, 1920, (942) was reviewed by Wreszinski, OLZ 24¹⁷⁴⁻¹⁷⁵. In *Der Turmbau zu Babel* OLZ 21¹⁶¹⁻¹⁶⁵,

A FOURTH BIBLIOGRAPH. SURVEY OF ASSYRIOLOGY 87

Dombart dealt with Koldewey's study in MDOG 59 (943). Gersbach's *Geschichte des Treppenbaues der Babylonier und Assyrier, Ägypter, Perser und Griechen*, 1917, was reviewed by Dombart, OLZ 24²⁰⁹⁻²¹² (944). Weidner wrote *Zur babylonischen Eingeweideschau*, MVAG 21¹⁹¹⁻¹⁹⁸ (945) giving illustrations of spirals.

SEALS

Pinches and Newberry described *A cylinder seal inscribed in hieroglyphic and cuneiform in the collection of the Earl of Carnarvon*, *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* 7¹⁹⁶⁻¹⁹⁹ to be dated 2000 BC or earlier. Pinches adding an important contribution to geography (946).

COSTUME

Mary G. Houston and Florence S. Hornblower wrote on *Ancient Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian Costumes and Decorations*, 1920 (947). Pp. 43-75 are devoted to Assyria; while they offer nothing new, are however interesting.

MEDICINE Cf. 814, 931

BABEL AND BIBLE

Delitzsch issued a new edition of his famous *Babel und Bibel*. N. D. Van Leeuwen wrote *Het bijbelsch-akkadisch Schumerisch*, 1920 (948) Jirku showed that in KAV 42^{ist} *Ha-bi-ru der Stammesgott der Habiru-Hebräer*, OLZ 24²⁴⁶⁻²⁴⁷ (949). C. Edwards issued a third edition of *The Hammurabi Code and the Sinaitic Legislation*, 1921 (950). Other items especially important under this heading are found already listed as 865, 823, 858, 864, 865, 866, 925, 931.

BABEL AND GREECE

H. Wirth reopened the question in *Homer und Babylon* (951) (n. s.).

REVIEWS

The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad. By C. F. Gadd. London, Luzac & Co., 1921, pp. 43.

The latest attempt to synthesize the results of the discoveries of the past ten years made at Nippur chiefly by the University of Pennsylvania is this little book of forty-three pages recently published by Mr. C. J. Gadd of the British Museum. The principal sources upon which it is based, are three: Poebel's "Historical Texts"; B. M. Tablet 108857 first published by Scheil and later reedited by him and by Thureau-Dangin and now reproduced here with minor changes by Gadd; and the new Philadelphia Fragment (L) published in 1920 by Leon Legrain.

Although the source material available is still too meager to justify the author's claim that he can "attempt to... furnish... an entirely connected scheme of chronology which rests, not upon conjecture, but upon the evidence of written records that are, in comparison, almost as old as the events which they commemorate", a comparison of his tables with previous dynastic lists shows a very considerable advance in knowledge of the period. Dr. Poebel's provisional reconstruction of Babylonian chronology from the First Dynasty (Kish) after the flood through the Dynasty of Nisin contains two gaps — a great gap between the Dynasties of Awan and Akshak, and a lesser gap between those of Gutium and Ur. These lacunae Mr. Gadd, by the aid of the new texts, sets himself to fill. For the gap between Awan and Akshak the L fragment gives the names of four new Dynasties, Kish — Hamazi — Adab — Mari, which, with other known data permits him to conjecture the arrangement of the early Dynasties to have been: Kish I — Uruk I — Ur I — Awan — Ur II — Kish II — Hamazi — Kish III — Uruk III. The present uncertainties as to the number of years covered by the Mari Dynasty and of kings in the Dynasties of

Kish II and Uruk II, together with obvious discrepancies in the chronology given to the kings of Akshak and Kish IV by the scribes, which the author points out, will subject these conclusions to reinterpretations as more source material becomes available.

For the smaller gap between Gutium and Ur Mr. Gadd finds that Utu-ḫegal, king of Uruk fits into the summaries as a probable king of the Fifth Dynasty of Uruk, which all evidence seems to agree in indicating as being short, and concludes that no very considerable gap intervened between the defeat of Gutium and the formation of Ur-Engur's kingdom.

Besides filling in these two gaps in the dynastic list, Mr. Gadd indicates several other new discoveries: a probably complete king list for the Agade Dynasty, the names of the first four kings of Gutium, the completion of Dr. Poebel's list of the "eleven cities of royalty" by the addition of Hamazi, Adab and Mari, and new material on Sargon. A transliteration and translation of a new British Museum text of Libit-Ishtar is interpolated at Chapter X, as the author states, "not because it has any historical value, but because of its interest as being only the second inscription of this king as yet recovered".

This monograph is short and subject to revision but it is an invaluable starting point for further research on the subject. The tables on pages thirty-six to thirty-nine are clear and are particularly valuable for synchronizing contemporary dynasties. Until these uncertainties are done away with the author very sensibly avoids attempting to fix absolute chronology, though in the Appendix he provides a method for so doing.

GEORGE TYLER MOLYNEUX.

La Civilisation Assyro-babylonienne. Par G. Contenau. Paris, Payot & Cie., 1922. Pp. 143. 4 Frs.

This is one of the latest volumes of the excellent "Collection Payot". After an appropriate introduction, Dr. Contenau discusses in a very simple and clear fashion the geography, races, language, and script of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, and then continues with a chapter on the archaeology of the country and the development of the inscriptions. Then there are three excellent chapters on

religion, art, and general institutions, and at the end comes a brief but well-selected bibliography. It would be asking too much to demand details in such a small book, but now and then one searches in vain for points which ought to appear, even in such a résumé as this. For example, no mention is made of the part Dr. J. P. Peters played in the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania; nor is the nature of Langdon's *Epic of Paradise* clearly set forth. Nevertheless, this little book is an excellent thing of its kind.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Babel und Bibel. Von Friedrich Delitzsch. Neu bearbeitete Ausgabe. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1921. Pp. 80. M. 18.

The value and importance of this famous book, now appearing with additions and notes, can hardly be overestimated. In spite of the fact that Delitzsch, in his enthusiasm for the culture and civilization of Babylonia, has greatly exaggerated the influence of Babylonia upon the Bible, yet whatever he has to say deserves careful consideration. In this new edition he has changed none of his fundamental contentions of earlier editions, even retaining his earlier interpretation of the so called "temptation scene". The little book, however, although in its sixty-third thousand deserves further circulation.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Catalogue des Intailles et Empreintes Orientales des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire. Par Louis Speleers. Bruxelles, Vromant & Co., 1917. Pp. 263.

M. Speleers is to be congratulated upon this magnificent publication. In a special study devoted to liturgical elements in the Seal Cylinders of Babylonia and Assyria, the reviewer had an occasion to test the value and accuracy of this fine piece of work. After a very detailed and informing introduction, which occupies 82 pages of well-arranged material, the author arranges the Seals of the Royal Museum at Brussels in the following order: Elamite, Sumero-Akkadian, Early Babylonian, Assyro-Babylonian, Hittite, Syro-Hittite, Persian, and Miscellaneous. The excellent

indices of names, etc., that follow renders this mine of information about Seal Cylinders and their contents indispensable.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Un Cylindre Néo-Babylonien. Par Louis Speleers. Bruxelles, Vromant & Co., 1919, *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XXVIII, 291—305.

Students of Babylonian history will be thankful to M. Speleers for the publication in facsimile, text, and translation, of this fine monument of the reign of Nebuchadrezzar II.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

La Collection des Intailles et des Empreintes de l'Asie Antérieure aux Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire. Par Louis Speleers. Bruxelles, Vromant & Co., 1920.

This is an extract from the *Annales de la Société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, XXIX, pp. 145—180, and serves as an addition to the *Catalogue* published in 1917.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Le Papyrus de Nefer Renpet. Par Louis Speleers. Bruxelles, Vromant & Co., 1917, pp. 110 + pls. XXIX.

In his publication of this fine papyrus, containing a copy of the Book of the Dead of the XVIII dynasty, preserved at the Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles, M. Speleers has brought the time when it will be possible to publish a *textus receptus* of the Book of the Dead a long step nearer. This great Egyptian work — the Book of the Dead — reaching back through the Coffin Texts to the Pyramid Texts, deserve the greatest attention and the most unrelenting study, until its great mass of important religious material is analysed and digested. In the work before us we have, after the introduction, a description of the XXIX magnificent plates, after which follows an important list of variants in the Ms. from the Naville text. Then comes a special study of the important thirty-second chapter, and then, a most important study of the principal deities whose names

occur in the Papyrus of Nefer Renpet. M. Speleers has made excellent use of the Pyramid Texts in this study, and his work will be highly appreciated by all Egyptologists.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

La Stèle de Maï du Musée de Bruxelles. Par Louis Speleers, *Recueil des Travaux*, Tome 39, pp. 113—144.

M. Speleers has presented an excellent discussion and publication of a fine stela of the reign of Seti I. He has shown that several versions of the same hymn are extant, and after a detailed comparison of these versions and a translation of the text, has made an excellent study of the religious elements of the inscription.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Le Livre de l'impôt foncier (Kitab el-Kharadj). By Abou Yousof Ya'koub. Translation with notes by E. Fagnan. Paris. Geuthner, 1921. Pp. XVI, 352. Francs 40.

There is a considerable literature in French on the Malekite rite, but far less on the Hanefite. Abu Yusuf Ya'kub whose book on the landtax is now translated by M. Fagnan, is the work of a disciple of the great imam Abu Hanifah, but not altogether of a blind follower. For instance he does not accept the latter's decision on the relative share of a horseman and a foot soldier in the division of booty (p. 26 of the translation). Abu Yusuf's work is of course a collection of hadith and of stories about the immediate followers of Mohammed. It covers the question of the division of booty, from which the landtax is only a derivative, at least in a medieval society. The author then takes up the question of fiefs, showing how the Moslem conquerors wisely avoided the confiscation of the lands of their subjects. The problem of irrigated lands is taken at length, and also that of the property of renegades and Christians. He then takes up the various penalties for crimes and finally the rules of warfare. M. Fagnan is an ideal translator, first because he is thoroughly at home in the Arabic language, secondly because he has little use for pseudo-scholarly darkness and like Renan, believes that the translator's

task is fulfilled only when he has been able to present his thought in a perfectly correct sentence. There is a very comprehensive index. The *Service des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts* of the French Syrian Administration is to be highly commended for this first volume of the *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique*, which will supplement the magnificent journal *Syria*.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

L'Islam. By E. Montet. Paris. Payot, 1921. Pp. 150. Frs. 4.

This is the first volume of the *collection Payot*, a series which will be similar in its scope to the *Home University Library*. Prof. Montet's book is a splendid beginning for that series. There is not, in any language, a better outline of Islam. The author is a liberal Christian; he has a better knowledge of Islam than any other French writer on the subject, because he has not only the scholarship of books, but the experience of travel in Moslem lands. He knows how to read and to observe with sympathy and open-mindedness. The little book before us is not only full of, but rich in information, written in a clear and interesting manner, without even one dull place. We were especially interested in his treatment of the present and future of Islam, and of the expert opinion on Turkish affairs at present. It has been very hard for us in America to have real information on the subject on account of the strong anti-Turkish propaganda conducted in certain quarters. Prof. Montet tells us what will take months and even years to filter through our ordinary channels of information. It is quite evident that the author could not tell us all we need to know about Islam: the space given to him was too limited. We only wish he had said a word about South Arabian religion, when describing the "times of ignorance" before the coming of Moham-med. Another word on the Ahmadiyya movement would have been welcome, even if it had meant less space given to the Bahai. However, the author had a right to his own judgement and with the small number of pages at his disposal he has done wonderfully well.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Les principaux résultats des nouvelles fouilles de Suse. By P. Cruveilhier. Paris. Geuthner, 1921. Pp. IX, 154.

The author of this little book is a biblical scholar who has written at length on the connection between Babylon and Israel. He gives us now in a masterly manner an outline of the French excavations at Susa and of their results from the religious, legal, economic, and philological point of view. It will interest even those who have been able to delve into the bulky tomes edited by *La délégation en Perse*. The author does not differ in any way from Scheil, either in his translations, or in the interpretation of the data. For his attitude, we would be the last to criticise him. The most interesting part of his study is that dealing with the religion of Elam, where he gives a thorough study of the "high place" of Susa. Fr. Cruveilhier points here and there the value of the results of these excavations for an enlightened and even for an apologetical study of the Bible.

J. A. MAYNARD

Wanderings in the Orient. By A. M. Reese. Chicago and London. Open Court Pub. Co., 1919. Pp. 81.

The author of this charming little book is a great naturalist but it is quite evident that he knows how to write for the general public. He describes a Philippine village near Manila, Manila itself, a village in Palawan, the Philippine leper colony, Canton, Honolulu, and Singapore. The aim of the book is to call the attention of prospective visitors to the Philippine Islands to the relatively short but most interesting excursions that they could arrange from there. One wishes that Mr. Reese had given us more than these samples of observations. The book is abundantly illustrated from photographs by the author.

J. A. MAYNARD

La Chine. By H. Cordier. Paris, Payot, 1921. Pp. 139. Frs. 4.

This volume of the Payot Collection is the work of one of the best known historians of China. The first part is geographical, the second historical. A following volume will treat of the literature and fine arts. Prof. Cordier's book is packed full of information,

perhaps too packed; it reminds one of an article in an Encyclopedia. There is a misprint on p. 109, where the name of the leader of the Formosans should be Koxinga. On p. 76, the fall of Assyria is wrongly placed in the reign of Sardanapalos. These are minor blemishes, and they will in no wise take anything from the value of the vade-mecum on Chinese history and geography that Mr. Cordier has written for us.

J. A. MAYNARD

Documents Inédits pour Servir à l'Histoire du Christianisme en Orient (XVI^E—XIX^E Siècle). Recueillis par le Père Antoine Rabbath, S. J. Tome second 3^e fascicule publié avec notes et tables par le P. François Tournebize, S. J. Imprimerie Catholique, Beyrouth, 1921.

The present is the first part of this collection of documents to be published since before the beginning of the war; in the meantime Fr. Rabbath who began the collection has died, but we are assured in the present publication that the work will be continued until the entire series of 2000 documents has been issued. We welcome this assurance for the documents are valuable from various points of view, some of which we indicate below. Mostly the documents have to do with the activities of the various religious orders in the Orient, the Jesuits especially. Each letter is preceded by a summary of the contents and accompanied by brief notes, mainly biographical. Interesting light is thrown upon the missionary needs, money and men, (see especially the Latin letters, pp. 476—485). Persecution is not wholly absent, some of the Fathers are imprisoned and ransom demanded; others are urged to apostasize to Mahommedanism: "Vis Maurus fieri?" "Absit hoc a me", respondet Pater (p. 486). Sometimes they are beaten and put to forced service. On the unpleasant side we find the controversies between the Franciscans and Jesuits, but the present Jesuit authors give full credit to the Franciscans for their work. In opposition to the religious standpoint of most of the writers we have the letter of the Marquis de Villeneuve, dated 1740, (pp. 561—577), which would have to be taken into account in reconstructing the conditions of the place and time. The Nestorians

of the time held the view regarding the teaching of Nestorius which has been revived in recent days, especially since the publication of the Bazaar of Heraclides: "che gli errori che a lui si attribuivano non erano suoi, ma si ben d'altri impostigli falsamente" (p. 443). The cause of their rejection of the Catholic teaching is seen to be a misapprehension of its nature: "Altri poi negavano doversi semplicemente concedere che la Vergine Santissima fosse Dei Genitrix, ma necessariamente doversi aggiungere Dei Genitrix Verbi, pensando che nella prima proposizione si conceda che sia madre di tutta la divinissima Trinità" (p. 443). Nestorian errors were sometimes tenaciously held even after a verbal retraction had been made, this fact brings forth a valuable letter of Paul V on the subject (pp. 427-430); Fr. Adam a Nestorian who had made profession of faith to Rome defends his renunciation of Nestorianism thus: "io non negai Nestorio, ma dissi se Santo Nestorio ha detto le cose le quali gli sono imputate, io lo maledico; ma non è vero che egli dicesse quelle cose" (p. 455). Some of these Nestorian envoys who came to the West in the early seventeenth century played a part very like that of more recent adventurers. One letter expresses an interesting opinion of other Eastern Christians: "Le sieur Maillet m'a escrit que si on s'attachait à l'instruction des Coptes, qui n'ont plus que le nom de chrestiens on y ferait un fruit bien plus certain qu'en allant en Ethiopie, où il luy paraist qu'il y a peu de chose à espérer" (p. 542). This last letter shows, incidentally, what appears throughout, how much more modern the Italian spelling of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was than the French. Towards the end of the present fasciculus we have a series of letters (pp. 580-612) dealing with the dissolution of the Company of Jesus. The variety of interests touched upon in this series of letters makes their continuance well worth while.

FRANK H. HALLOCK

The Platonism of Philo Judaeus. By Thomas H. Billings. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1919. Pp. VIII + 103.

Our author has the first great qualification for writing a book, but one so often left out of consideration. He knows his subject.

The literature is familiar to him, for he quotes freely the Platonic-Philonic scholars: Allixius, Miss Mathilda Apelt, Bentwich, Brehier, Burnet, Bywater, Drummond, Heinze, Horowitz, Jonsius, Le Clerc, Montefiore, Mosheim, Neander, Shorey, Zeller, and others.

He starts off with the current Greek proverb: "If Philo is not a Platonist, Plato is a Philonist". The reviewer does not pretend to discuss fully, or even fairly satisfactorily this book, for he is not a Philonic scholar, still less a scholar of Plato. The purpose of the review is to call attention to the book. No effort is made to suggest corrections of a typographical nature, for so careful a reading has not been possible.

The table of contents will tell the story to those interested:

- I. Introduction: A Survey of the History of Philonic Interpretation.
- II. Philo's Conception of the Ultimate Reality.
- III. The Intermediary Powers.
- IV. Man's Soul and Its Powers.
- V. Ethics.
- VI. The Influence of Plato on the Phraseology of Philo.

The most useful chapter of the book for the author's purpose is the VI, "The Influence of Plato on the Phraseology of Philo". It carries the author's argument further and more fully than any other portion of the book. The Introduction is far more interesting and for most readers the best part of the work.

The lack of a bibliography is noticeable, but in the circumstances, the rather full discussion of authorities in the Introduction, this may be passed rather lightly, yet no book of this nature ought to be published without a good bibliography.

D. ROY MATHEWS

Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament. By J. M. Harden. London, SPCK, 1921. Pp. 126.

This is an excellent list of words based on the smaller Oxford edition of the Vulgate New Testament, which was published in 1911. It will be found handy and useful to students of the New Testament.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

